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In Volume XLIV, Part I, the name of the author of *The Crucifixion of the
Twenty-six in 1597*, Rev. C. F. Sweet, was omitted.

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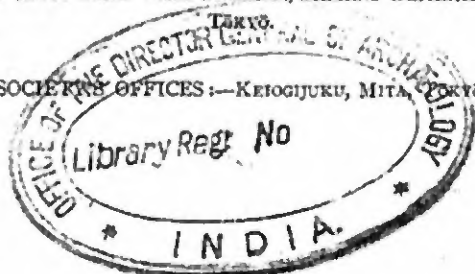
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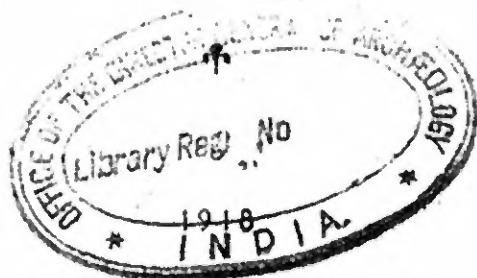
A
STUDY OF SOME
OF THE
ORACLES AND SAYINGS
IN
THE WARONGO
OR
JAPANESE ANALECTS

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION

BY

GENCHI KATO, PH. D.

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PREFACE

Most native scholars have hitherto discarded the *Warongo* as unauthentic or not genuine, owing to its uncertain origin, which, historically considered, does somewhat diminish its value.

But as the ethical and religious ideals set forth therein are largely developed from a syncretism of Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism—or, preferably, are the result of an admirable assimilation and harmonizing of Confucianism, and of Buddhist thought with the original indigenous teachings of Shintō—the doctrines declared in the *Warongo* display an advanced standard both in practical morality and in religion.

Speaking metaphorically, we may say that the author of the *Warongo* viewed Shintō as the root and trunk of a colossal tree, and the teachings of the Buddha and Confucius as its leaves and branches.

In his scholarly work *Shintō, the Way of the Gods* (pp. 366, 372), Dr. W. G. Aston made references to some of the oracles of the *Warongo*, but, personally, I began my own independent study of the *Warongo* on the strict lines of higher criticism; first minutely investigating its date and professed authorship, and then rendering into English some of the typical Shintō oracles and certain ethical teachings or sayings cited therein aided by the kind collaboration of Dr. H. Hoshino, Dr. M. Nagai, the Hon. Mrs. E. A. Gordon, and Mr. Saburosuké Fujisaki, without whose assistance my task could not have been accomplished.

Should this little book prove of any service to foreigners desirous of studying "Things Japanese," and in especial, the religious and moral conditions of Japan in that state of religious development when Buddhism and Confucianism flourished side by side or rather amalgamated with Shintō in my native land I shall feel well repaid for my labour.

An ample supply of notes has been added in order to aid students of the science of religion in the comparative and historical study of Japanese religious thought.

My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Dr. Clay MacCauley, Prof. J. N. Seymour, and to Professors U. Hattori and M. Anésaki of the Tokyo Imperial University for their deep sympathy, suggestive hints, and general helpfulness shown to me in their respective fields of knowledge.

GENCHI KATO

TOKYO, *March*, 1918

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

I

What is the *Warongo*, or *Japanese Analects*?

It is perfectly clear, that the word "Warongo" (literally, "Japanese Analects") was devised by a Japanese in imitation of the *Analects of Confucius*, because "Wa" (otherwise pronounced "Yamato") stands for "Japan" or "Japanese," and "Rongo" means "Analects" or "Discourses." Hence we get the compound word "Wa-rongo" or "Yamato-rongo," which is the title of the book we are about to study.

As the *Confucian Analects* (*Rongo*, or *Lun Yu*) was, and still is the "Bible of the Chinese," so the *Warongo*, being full of teachings of a high moral order, was considered by some to be the "Bible of the Japanese" and (according to the author) was so named by an Ordinance of the Emperor Gonara-In (1557), when he was only 13 years of age.

Amongst Oriental scholars in the West, it is widely known that the *Confucian Analects* was written in pure Chinese, whilst our *Warongo* is in Sinico-Japanese and its style reminds us more or less of the peculiar phraseology employed in those "Romantic Records of War" that were widely circulated during the Tokugawa Period (1693-1867).

The *Warongo* appears to have been first printed in 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun). It consists of 10 volumes, the first of which contains 108 oracles ascribed to certain Shintō gods, whilst the other nine are mostly filled with moral precepts in the form of aphorisms, which are attributed to some celebrated men and women of various social positions in Japan, and are said to be dated from the remotest past to modern days.

The pseudo-compilers whose names are given in the text belong to the Kiyohara family, and are respectively the two Minamotos and Kinoshita Katsutoshi (whose nom de plume is Chōshō-Shi). They range from about the beginning of the Kamakura Period (1190-1333) down to the early part of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1867).

II

The Authorship of the *Warongo*

The question naturally arises: "Who is the actual author of the so-called *Japanese Bible, Warongo*?"

Any one who has carefully read it through will perceive that such a work could hardly be composed by many writers or compilers but that it is the labour of one brain throughout. It is impossible to discover in it any variation in the style or diction, which would naturally result from a difference in authors and periods during the long course of four centuries of Japanese history. There is only one mode of expression throughout—even identical words and phrases continually re-appear. This fact is alone convincing evidence that our hypothesis is correct, namely "Not many authors but one."

Moreover, the selfsame idea is ascribed to more than one author with but little modification of words, and sometimes with exactly the same verbal repetitions. For example, the concluding sentence of the Oracle of Chikubushima Daimyōjin and that of Itsukushima Daimyōjin are almost identical.

(a) The Oracle of Chikubushima Daimyōjin:—"As I am the Embodiment of the Spirit of Mercy and Benevolence, even though a man be harsh and greedy, if he come and pray to Me, I am not unwilling to bestow on him abundant wealth."

(a') The Oracle of Itsukushima Daimyōjin:—"Notwithstanding that I am reluctant to grant the prayers of the unjust, yet, because I am the very Embodiment of universal, unconditioned Loving-kindness, I frequently do so."

(a'') The Buddhist priest Shōshin quoted in the *Warongo* entertains the same opinion :—

"If a man be full of compassion and loving-kindness towards others, the God of Fortune will grant him priceless jewels."

A similar repetition occurs both in the Oracle of Atsuta Daimyōjin and that of the God of Kitsuki.

(b) The Oracle of Atsuta Daimyōjin :—

"Be respectful and loyal to the Mikado (Emperor), as the All-Illuminating August Sun-Goddess commanded us. Should any foes arise against the Mikado, come to Me and name them, for I will never lose any time in going to destroy them for His Majesty's sake."

(b') The Oracle of Kitsuki Daimyōjin :—

"If, through the fascinating influences of the foreign civilization, men fail to observe even the least of the Laws of the Divine Kingdom, (*i.e.*, Japan), they act contrary to the commands of the national gods, and therefore I will send my divine messengers to annihilate such infidels. Neither will I grant the prayers of any who do not come and worship Me before all other gods."

In the first volume of the *Warongo*, the name of each compiler and the date in which he went through his work are given. But, after careful examination, we find that some of those dates are not quite accurate, although the *Warongo* says that the dates are given in autograph by each compiler, which is scarcely credible.

These considerations make one suspicious as to whether those compilers named in the *Warongo* may not be fictitious, and only mentioned in order to give *éclat* to the work, by conferring on it a certain literary or historical authority. Besides, it appears to us that the real author of the *Warongo* laboured unreasonably to write up the Sasaki family of Ōmi Province in exceedingly flattering terms, and tried his best to bring into connection with that province certain of the most distinguished warriors that Japan had ever produced, *e. g.*,

Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, Tokugawa Iyeyasu and many others, none of whom in fact comes from Ōmi.

This fact also proves that, Ōmi was all in all to the author of the *Warongo* and that the family of the feudal lord Sasaki of Ōmi was supreme in his esteem : simply because Ōmi was, in our opinion, the alleged author's native place, and he naturally considers it to be far superior to any other province.

But who is the real author of the *Warongo* ? The result of our minutely critical study of the text shows that it is one named Sawada Gennai. Already in the Tokugawa Period, Isé Teijō, whose alias is Ansai, an antiquarian historian, and Takada Yosei (Oyamada Tomokiyo), a Japanese classical scholar, were of the same opinion as ourselves and announced that the author of the *Warongo* is the same person as the writer of the *Kōgenbukan*, and the *Shokidaikeizu*.

The anonymous author of a work called *Ōninkōki*, in particular, with keen insight traced the authorship of the *Warongo* to Sawada Gennai, who was at the same time the writer of the two above-named books. In the *Ōninkōki* we read :—

“A visitor from Kyōto once told me that at the Period of Kambun (about the middle of the 17th century) there was a man in Ōmi Province, who called himself Sasaki Ujisato, a descendant of Sasaki Ujitsuna (d.1518) who was once a feudal lord in the same province. But this is not the fact so far as my knowledge goes.

“It is a well-established historical fact that Ujitsuna left no male child, whilst a man, who called himself Sasaki Ujisato, was actually the son of a farmer named Nizaemon, in Katada Village, Ōmi. By his father's desire the peasant son was sent at an early age to the Buddhist monastery on Mt. Hiyéi as page to a certain monk, and there the lad learned how to read and write.

“When grown up, he constructed a fictitious genealogical table of the Sasaki family, so clever was he, in which he vainly

claimed the honour of being the legitimate heir to that noble house and hereby tried to procure for himself the rank of a feudal retainer. But he failed in his plotted scheme at the age of 70, towards the beginning of the Genroku Period (the close of the 17th century) in the Tokugawa Régime. He had already written and printed his *Kōgenbukan* in 20 volumes, *Shokūdaikoku* in 30 volumes, and *Warongo* in 10 volumes."

It is a fact beyond dispute that Sasaki Ujisato mentioned in the *Ōninkōki* is no other person than the Sawada Gennai of the *Ansaizuihitsu* and the *Teijōsakki*, judging from and comparing together certain passages in these three works.

The conclusions we have drawn from our critical analysis make it clear that the *Warongo* is of little or no value as a genuine history; but, as a record or reflection of the spirit of the times, the work is of considerable importance, just as the pseudo-Pauline Epistles in the New Testament are still valuable, from the religious point of view although not from the historical standpoint, whether these epistles were actually written by St. Paul himself or not. The same thing may be said of the *Iliad*, the *Koran*, the Buddhist *Sūtras* the *Zend-Avesta*, and the *Four Books* or the *Five Classics* of the ancient Chinese. In like manner, we should value the *Warongo* for its intrinsic worth as a collection of moral precepts and religious teachings rather than as a genuine history; such as, for example, the *Book of the Dead* in ancient Egypt, which was compiled by the priests from the Texts on the Pyramids which date back to about 4,000 B.C.

III

PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS IN THE *Warongo*, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS THE ORACLES OF CERTAIN SHINTO GODS

Throughout the whole of the *Warongo*, the Shintō idea taught by the Urabé School predominates; i. e., a Shintō thought in which there are three chief elements—namely,

Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoo (or Buddhistic). It comprehends even these alien ones, and yet above all regards the original spirit of Yamato as the Suoreme Court of final appeal, and subordinates the imported foreign doctrines to the indigenous teachings of Japan. Therefore, the three parts of a tree—the leaves, the branches, and the trunk with the roots—may well afford a comparison for those three above-named types of thought. It goes without saying that the Japanese idea is unique and fundamental, like the strong trunk and root of a tree, whilst the Chinese and Hindoo ideas are simply subsidiary (so far as Japan is concerned), and resemble the branches and leaves of the same tree. Or we might say, in more familiar terms, that the first is the kernel while the two last are mere husks—spirit and letter. Therefore, according to this Shintō school, the Shintō Gods (Kami) of Japan are not avatars or earthly manifestations of one and the same celestial Buddha (Hotoké), as Buddhists usually think, but all the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are nothing else than mere incarnations of our Shintō Gods. In other words, Shintō is fundamental, whilst the other foreign doctrines are only modifications or imitations of Shintō, entirely regardless of the chronological sequence and of the actual historical facts. In short, to put it in somewhat new and unfamiliar phraseology, the Shintō idea of the Urabé School is "Japan-centric." This "Japan-centric" idea is well expressed in the following Shintō oracles in the *Warongo* :—

"In India He was born as the Buddha Gautama, the Supremely Enlightened One, who was the Great Teacher, Revealer of the True Religion, and Superior Leader of all beings, whether gods or men in the Three Worlds.

"In China, the three Sages Kong-Futze, Lao-tze and Yen-Hui were neither more nor less than our Kami (Shintō God) Himself.

"You may ask : Why does one and the same Deity assume such varied forms ? It is simply because, being one and the same Deity, He desires to preach the selfsame truth, and therefore He takes forms differing only in appearance

from each other, so that He may best adapt His teaching to the understanding of every man.

"Ponder this providential, educative tactfulness, and live in quiet accordance with the Law of Righteousness prescribed by our national Gods" (Oracle of Watatsumi Daimyōjin).

"It is quite true that even foreign teachings (*e. g.*, Confucianism and Buddhism) are to some extent useful as ornaments to us, but only in so far as they are to the Original Way of the Kami what the leaves and branches of a tree are to its trunk and roots. Indeed, Shintō is of intrinsic value to us, whilst the other alien teachings are only an auxiliary, and no more. Nevertheless, to My distress, people frequently think quite otherwise" (Oracle of Kashima Daimyōjin).

In the Saying attributed to Fujiwara Kanetaka (1556-1636) in the *Warongo*, we find the same idea:—

"We should not fail to welcome strangers—whether Buddhists from India or Confucianists from China—who come and pay homage to our Divine Kingdom.* For they are all actually offshoots of one and the same tree as our Shintō, or the 'Way of the National Gods.' Each foreign doctrine represents a different aspect of the selfsame truth of Shintō in its own country, accommodated to its own circumstances. Should any one think otherwise, it is because of his entire ignorance of the vast comprehensiveness of our Shintō."

This idea betrays the fact that Shintō, strictly speaking, began as a national religion, notwithstanding that it is now overlaid with highly ethical ideas due to having been much influenced by Confucianism and Buddhism.

That in the *Warongo* the nationalistic Shintō is developed into the ethical stage is well illustrated in the following quotation:—

"When people indulge themselves in sexual pleasures, the fountainhead of their inner virtue and wisdom is completely

* Cf. the prayer of King Solomon at the Dedication of the Temple at Jerusalem, I Kings VIII, 41-43.

dried up, and in consequence the moon of Divine Grace sends no spiritual light upon the surface of the water " (Oracle of Fuji Daigongen).

Who is Fuji Daigongen ? It is no other than the Goddess Konohana-no-Sakuyahimé in whom, when we first meet her in the *Records of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*), we can still discern her naturalistic aspect ; and yet in the *Warongo*, her oracle is of such a nature that it teaches moral purity of heart, advising us not to commit any wanton sin.

Moreover, these oracles of the Sun-Goddess, i. e., Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami, Kasuga Daimyōjin and Tatsuta Daimyōjin in the *Warongo* are all ethical in the fullest sense of the term.

Thus the Oracle of the Sun-Goddess says :—

"Never be crafty, but hold fast the truth, or else, to your sorrow, the unseen punishment from Heaven will unfailingly come upon you, and you wicked ones will be hurled down into Hades.

"Be honest and just ; then God will grant you heavenly blessedness even here on earth in compensation for your hard life of suffering and trial."

If we compare the underlying idea of this oracle with the following, we shall easily see how Shintō came to be moralized in the *Warongo*, in contrast with its original form.

In the *Shintō Pentateuch* (*Shintō Gobusho*) we read :—

"Although the Sun and Moon continually circle round the four quarters, and illuminate every corner of the globe, yet do they unfailingly shine upon the head of the upright."

In the diary written by Saka Shibutsu in the 14th century, when he went on a pilgrimage to the Isé Shrine, we find his Shintō Religion saturated with this beautiful ethical conception :—

"In order to worship acceptably at the Shrine of the Sun-Goddess at Isé, the first essential is purity of heart. Neither prayer, nor petition, nor offering is required from that man, who desires above all else to obtain the divine favour.

"Heart-purity is called 'Inner Purity.' To purge one-

self of external pollution, laving one's body with streams of lustral water, is called 'Outward Purity.'

"When a man is pure both in body and mind, there is little difference between the human and the divine, the one being the counterpart of the other. Such a mortal at once becomes immortal. Any kind of prayer, which is in reality a petition, more or less characterized by a mercenary spirit toward his God vanishes; for, how can such a prayer be possible, where there already exists a complete union between the human and the Divine Soul! This is the true meaning of 'Worshipping at the Grand Shrine of Isé.'"

Similarly, the Oracle of Kasuga Daimyōjin also says:—

"Even though a man provides Me with a nice clean room, offering Me rare and precious treasures of the land, and hanging up the sevenfold sacred ropes (Jap. *shimē*) praying to Me earnestly with all his heart and mind for hundreds of days, I am unwilling to favour a house with My presence, whose owner is either dishonest, harsh, or greedy.

"But even though one, by reason of deep mourning for a deceased parent is polluted, and therefore cannot invite Me, nevertheless, if he be always kind-hearted towards others, he may expect Me to appear in his dwelling, because I, the Kami, am truly the very Incarnation of Mercy."

* * * * *

"If you desire to obtain divine aid, emancipate yourselves from all foolish pride and egotism, for even a hair's breadth of that kind of vanity separates you from God (Kani), as effectually as though by a mass of thick clouds.

"Since the good God lives on the spiritual ambrosia of the True Religion (the Buddhist True Law), He delights not in the various kinds of offerings made by mortal hands."*

The last lines of this oracle remind one of the well-known words of the Hebrew prophet Hosea, "Not sacrifice but

* Cf. Isaiah LXVI, 1, 2, and *pass.*

mercy" (vi, 6), and the Hebrew Psalmist's earnest cry, "The sacrifice of God is a broken and contrite heart!" (Ps., LI, 17)*

The two above-quoted oracles can be fitly described as the "Oracles of Justice (or Honesty) and Benevolence."†

The Oracle of Tatsuta Daimyōjin teaches how to fulfil one's duty to parents, laying special stress upon the importance of practising filial piety towards parents rather than on the mere formal observance of the various kinds of religious ceremonies. This oracle says:—

"All ye, My people, high and low, rich and poor! Before you pray to Heaven and Earth as well as to the myriad other deities, it is essential that you should first show filial piety‡ by being obedient to your parents, for in them you can find all the gods of 'Within and Without.' It is useless to pray to the god that are 'Without,' if you do not serve your parents Within (at home) with filial piety."

As the teaching of the oracles given in the *Warongo* is much coloured by Hindoo and Chinese pantheism or cosmotheism, the gods (kami) mentioned therein are also in pantheistic garb, although they have not yet got rid of some polytheistic influences. Thus, the author of the *Warongo* has discovered the Divinity existing both in Nature and in man, as may be clearly seen in the Oracle of Ōyamatsumi Daimyōjin:—

"Our Sun-Goddess—(that is to say, and broadly speaking, all Shintō gods without exception)—is believed to manifest Herself as Sūrya (the Hindoo God of the sun), or Mahā-Vairocana (the All-Illuminating One) in the Buddhist doctrine.

"The same Sun-Goddess, however, also manifests Herself in the form of the Dragon-God of the sea, who is ready to grant any petition made by any creature in all the Three Worlds.

"Even the followers of Śakyamuni should not fail to pay due homage to the Sun-Goddess. This is because all things in

* Cf. Psalms XL, 6. Micah vi, 6, 7, 8.

† Psalms XXXIII, 5.

‡ Cf. I Timothy v, 4. Ephesians vi, 1-3.

the Universe, Heaven and Earth included, are after all but different manifestations of the One Supreme Being (Kami)."

Pantheistic truth underlies the following Oracle of Awaka Daimyōjin :—

"Behold the azure sky,
The mighty vault of blue o'er all ;
While here the softly blowing breeze
Swaying the myriad pine-wood leaves
Plays Nature's own sweet airs.
In Nature, God's full glory shines."

Remember that the same pantheistic strain has come down to us in a well-known Buddhist poem composed by Su Shih (Soshoku, or Sōtōba, 1036-1101) when in an ecstasy after becoming enlightened with the Absolute Truth of the Zen Sect.

"The murmur of the running brooks
Echoes and re-echoes in the valley's depths
The eternal Buddha's never-ceasing Voice.
And see ! the beauty and the wondrous forms
Which shape the mountains and the hills,—
All these reveal Lord Buddha's very Self :—
O'er Nature, yet abiding in it all."

How came Su Shih to hear Buddha preaching in a voice like a roaring lion in the murmur of the brooks of water ? Or, how came he to see the glorious transcendent Law-Body or spiritual presence of the Tathāgata in Nature ? Because "*Natura sive Deus*," to put it in the Spinozistic terminology. So, Jesus taught the same truth, taking as his text, the wild lilies, the grass of a field, or the five sparrows sold for a penny.*

In the *Warongo*, the conception of God (Kami) is not only ethical but also more or less spiritualistic and idealistic ; for the author, to our great admiration, had already reached

* Luke XII, 6.

that stage of religious thought in which he could worship God
"in spirit and in truth."*

Therefore we read :—

"What is the Upright Heart,
The guide of Human Life?
'Tis neither more, nor is it less,
Than the Divine Itself."

(Oracle of Wakasahiko Daimyōjin)

"Upright in mind, accordant with the Will
Revealed in Heaven, and o'er all the Earth :—
The man who thus directs his life,
Thereby declares himself divine."

(Oracle of Noto-Himé Daimyōjin)

"Live in and by Reason, and depart not from it.
Whenever you do so, you act against the Will of God. What,
then, is Reason? It is indeed Heaven and Earth, it is the
Universe, nay, it is God Himself" (The Oracle of Tamasaki
Daimyōjin).

"The heart of a man is the abode of God; think not that
God is something distant. He that is honest, is himself a God
(Kami), and if merciful, he is himself a Buddha (Hotoké).
Know that man in his essential nature is one and the same
with God or Buddha" (Oracle of Ubé Daimyōjin).

"Emancipate yourselves from evil thoughts and earthly
desires! Nay, more, ascend high up into that Heavenly
sphere where the distinction between the subject and object of
our knowledge is lost, and, consequently, mind is no longer
mind, thought ceases to be thought. Then, indeed, you
mortals become immortal; but, if otherwise, you deprive your-
selves of the godly dignity which (from the beginning)† is
inherent in you as men....." (Oracle of Sengen Daimyōjin).

In the sayings ascribed to Yamato-Himé (the guardian

* John IV, 21-26. Cf. Mark XII, 28-30; and Deuteronomy VI, 4.

† Cf. John X, 34-36.

priestess of the Sun-Goddess at the Isé Shrine) by the author of the *Warongo*, the conception of God is entirely spiritualistic and idealistic. Thus the princess says :—

“The Goddesses of the Inner and the Outer Shrine at Isé are self-existing and primordial, having neither beginning nor end.....a Great Spirit, the Over-Soul.*

“This Great Spirit, or Innermost-Self of the Deity (Kami), transcends all our thoughts, and is Incomprehensible. The Most High stands aloof from earthly things, and yet is neither Non-Existent, nor Absolute Nothingness or Void, as asserted in the nihilistic Buddhist teachings.”

Lastly, I shall endeavour to prove, how the author of the *Warongo* tried his best to harmonize the then-existing monotheistic ideas with the original polytheism of Shintō. His method of harmonizing them appears to me to resemble that of the Shin Sect, whose tenets are much more monotheistic than those of the other Buddhist sects in Japan.

Thus, in the Oracle of Hiraoka Daimyōjin, we read :—

“Even though you should worship but one God, yet all the other gods will be pleased. Suppose that you are surrounded by a thousand mirrors, yet, if you stand before any single one of them, your face will be reflected therein, although at the same time, the other nine hundred and ninety-nine mirrors will each reflect your image on its own surface ! Even thus doth one object of worship, not many, suffice.

“If you desire to put your trust in more than one God at the same time,† it will surely lead you into the crooked paths

* Cf. with this the opening words of the Inscription on the Nestorian Stone erected by Imperial command at Cho'Ang (Singang Fu) in China in 781.

“Behold the Unchangeably True and Invisible, who existed through all Eternity ! Without origin : the farseeing perfect Intelligence, whose mysterious Existence is everlasting : operating on primordial substance. He created the Universe, being more excellent than all holy Intelligences in as much as He is the source of all that is honorable. This is our eternal True Lord God, Triumphant, and mysterious in Substance.”

† To put it in the well-known Biblical terminology, “To serve two masters at the same time.”

of doubt and ruin, and, as a result, you will find yourselves left in the unfathomable bottomless Abyss of Illusion (Skt. *Māyā*), unsaved."

A similar monotheistic, or strictly speaking, quasi-monotheistic utterance is attributed to the Buddhist monk Gensan (1099):—

"If you worship only one Buddha, it will give pleasure to all the other Buddhas as well. Suppose that there are hundreds of thousands of mirrors surrounding you on every side, if you stand before any one of them in order to see the reflection of your face, yet at the same time all the other mirrors will have your reflected image each upon its own surface. Even so doth one object of worship, not many, suffice."

The pioneer of this conciliatory spirit between monotheism and polytheism is found in the Oracle of Kimbusen Daimyōjin, which expresses the quasi-monotheistic idea of God :—

"If any of My devout believers worship the Heavenly Deity with his whole heart and mind, it will give pleasure to all the Shintō and Buddhist gods, and his own mind will become illuminated with Divine Light."

PART II

PRINCIPAL ORACLES AND SAYINGS EXTRACTED FROM THE TEXT

CHAPTER I

THE DIVINE ORDINANCE, OR ORACLE OF THE SUN-GODDESS
AMATERASU-Ō-MIKAMI (TENSHŌKŌ-DAIJINGŪ)

"All My people! Never be crafty, but hold fast the truth, or else to your sorrow, the unseen punishment from Heaven will unfailingly come upon you, and you the wicked ones will be hurled down into Hades.

"Be honest and just, then God will grant you heavenly blessedness even here on earth in compensation for your hard life of suffering and trial.

"All My people! If you act against the Will of Heaven and Earth, I am sure that you will not only lose the Divine Grace, but remain eternally unsaved in Hades.

"Therefore, again I say unto you! Submit yourselves disinterestedly to the never-failing Law of Nature; live, move and have your being in Her; this, indeed, is the unshaken Principle of the 'Way'; this is the true essence of faith in God. Not to practise hundreds of tedious ceremonies, but to reverence the One True Law of Mind, is what the Heavenly Being enjoins upon believers, and this alone pleases Him."

"List ye, My people!

"Enjoy your life long and happily in and through Nature. Live by the Law of Righteousness implanted in your own heart. Serve your Ancestral Deity with piety and reverence, so that our unique nationality may be well consolidated and in consequence thereof be enabled to hold sway over all other nations, making manifest how noble is the

Mission which My descendants of the Imperial lineage hold in trust for the whole world ! ”

(“ In the 13th year of Tempyō [741], the Emperor Shōmu, enquired of the Sun-Goddess at Isé, whether he might build a Buddhist temple called ‘ Tōdaiji ’ in honour of a Buddha named Birushana [commonly called the Daibutsu of Nara, Skt. *Vairocana*, the ‘ Dainichi-Nyorai—Great Sun—of the Shingon Sect]. ”)

(“ Then, it is said, the Great Sun or Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami in response gave the following Oracle. ”)

“ The Sun of Reality and Truth shining in Its splendour clears away the darkness of the long wearisome night of Death and Re-birth.

“ The Moonlight of the Eternal and Everlasting dispels the heavy clouds of lust and ignorance. ”

(“ It is said, the Emperor Gotoba [1180-1239] received in a dream the following oracle from the Inner and Outer Shrines of Isé. ”)

“ This is a time in which the Buddha’s True Law is decaying, and the general corruption of public morality has ensued. At such a period the Mikado’s family will show respect for the class of Warriors ; Governors will be intimate with the worthless ; Buddhist priests take wives and concubines, and eat flesh, disregarding the Master’s ooble Precepts, and contemptible base fellows preach the Buddha’s Law. ”

“ I (the Sun-Goddess) give My descendants right to rule over the Reed-Land of fair Rice-ears as their rightful heritage. ”

The shrine of the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami (Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity) is erected at Uji, in Watarai, Isé. As she is said to be the Divine Ancestress of the Imperial Dynasty, particular homage is shown to the shrine by both the Imperial Family and all the people of the country.

The Shintai or Divine Body, is a Sacred Mirror generally known as “ Yata-no-Kagami ” (eight-hand-mirror), which is considered to enshrine the Sun-Goddess.

We can easily see that the first part of the Oracle or Divine

Ordinance of the Sun-Goddess, *i. e.*, the original Japanese for the English "Never be crafty.....suffering and trial" is a free translation of another oracle written in Chinese which is ascribed to Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami and commonly known as one of the "Oracles from the Three Shintō Shrines."

This oracle runs as follows:—

"Although, at first sight, honesty may seem to be unprofitable to man, yet remember that in the end it brings him Sun and Moon's (*i. e.*, Heavenly) reward. Although a crafty man may for a while enjoy his success, be assured that the divine punishment will one day overtake him unerringly."

The Oracles from the Three Shintō Shrines, are all found, in the same form as they now stand, in the work entitled *Umō-irohashi* in 1548 (the 17th year of Temmon).

Judging from a passage in a diary written by Sanjōnishi Sanetaka in the 8th Month of the 1st Year of Entoku (1489), it is certain that the Emperor Gohanazono (*d.* 1470, the 2nd year of Bunmei) was well acquainted with those "Oracles from the Three Shintō Shrines," and there existed an autograph of the Oracles by the same Emperor.

Moreover, the date of the above quoted Oracle of the Sun-Goddess (one of the "Three Oracles") can be traced back as early as the 13th century, because a Buddhist monk, Mujū-Hosshi by name, refers to it in a somewhat modified form in his work *Shusekishū*, and takes it for granted that the Oracle was the teaching given by the famous Prince-Regent Shōtoku (Shōtoku Taishi, *d.* 622), although the Buddhist monk gives no convincing proof. Notice the language of the Oracle as quoted by Mujū-Hosshi, which runs as follows:—

"Although, at first sight, honesty may seem to be unprofitable to man, yet remember that in the end it brings him Sun and Moon's (*i. e.*, Heavenly) blessing. Although a crafty man may for a while enjoy his success, be assured that the punishment of Hotoké (or Buddhas) and Kami (or Gods) will one day overtake him unerringly."

Furthermore, the latter part of the Oracle given in the

Japanese Analects is derived from the *Shintō Pentateuch*, or *Shintō-Gobusho*. The sole difference between the two texts is that the Oracle in the *Japanese Analects* is written in Sinico-Japanese in the style of the Tokugawa Period whilst that of the *Shintō Pentateuch* is written in Chinese characters.

As regards the Divine Ordinance of Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami, "I give My descendants...heritage," see Aston's English translation of the *Nihongi, or Chronicles of Japan*, vol. i, p. 77. Lastly, the student of the science of religion may well note that the same idea already appeared in the so-called *Shintō Pentateuch* in connection with the Sun-Goddess.

"Prayer is of foremost importance in the securing of the Divine Grace; and uprightness is a fundamental quality in one who would obtain the unseen protection....Although the Sun and Moon continually circle round the four quarters, and illuminate every corner of the globe, yet do they unfailingly shine upon the heads of the upright."

The celebrated scholar of Chinese classics, Yamazaki Ansai, otherwise called Suika in the Tokugawa Period, took up this passage as his golden maxim, or rather his religious creed, for life.

CHAPTER II

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD HACHIMAN (HONDA-NO-SHŌHACHIMAN) OF IWASHIMIZU

"No matter how poorly I may exist on a food of stone or metal, and although nothing is bestowed for Me to eat, yet I will not accept any offering from those impure in heart.

"Although I remain forlorn and homeless and am obliged to dwell in a stream of blazing fire, yet I am unwilling to go to the dishonest and impure and ask shelter.

"All ye, My people! Know that of our innumerable deities (kami), some are great, some small, some good, whilst others are bad, so that what they like or dislike is dissimilar:

the good deity never grants an unjust desire, but turns a deaf ear to the entreaties of the wicked, whilst, in striking contrast, the bad deity is content to listen to the prayer of the unjust and ready at any time to respond to it with all its mind and heart, for it takes delight in a false doctrine.

"I need not add more than to say that one should walk along the Path of Righteousness in company with Honest Mind.

"For the past immeasurable periods of time, Salvation has been brought to all sentient beings by every possible means through my utmost exertion, I revealing myself in a different form of being in each of the Three Worlds (*i.e.*, those of Desire, of Bodily Form, and of Invisible Form or Spirituality). I am called 'Dai-Jizai-Ō-Bosatsu' (Great-Onnipotent-King-Bodhisattva): it is because I am the Incomparable Almighty King."

("On the night of the 15th of the 8th Month in the 1st Year of Genkyū [1204], the following inspired poem was given to Sasaki Nobutsuna in a dream.")

"Loving-kindness is of the Buddhas :

Uprightness of the Kami :

Error of the sons of men.

Thus of the same heart there is a three-fold division."*

According to the doctrine of Buddhism, the world of sentient beings, which is bound by the endless chain of causation, is divided into three regions, *i. e.*, the realm of Desire, that of Bodily Form, and that of Absence of Bodily Form or Spirituality.

In the realm of Desire (Skt. *Kāmaloka*) sensual pleasure prevails, its occupants being subject to the pleasures and pains which result from the gratification of the senses. In the realm of Form (Skt. *Rūpaloka*) the inhabitants take thought as food and have a bright and transparent body, while those of *Kāmaloka* live on material food as we are accustomed to do and

* I have taken the liberty of using Aston's translation from his *Shintō, or the Way of the Gods* (p. 368), with a little modification.

consequently have a dark and opaque body. In the realm of Absence of Form—we might say the world of Spirituality (Skt. *Arūpaloka*), the beings have no bodily form, but are mere effulgence endowed with high intelligence.

The shrine of the God Hachiman is that of Otokoyama in Tsuzuki-Gun, Yamashiro, and now a Government Shrine of the First Grade. The God Hachiman is said to be the deified Emperor Honda whose posthumous name is Ōjin, son to Jingō-Kōgō, who (according to our national tradition) conquered Korea in early days. The shrine (or perhaps we should say shrines) is dedicated to the Emperor Ōjin, to his Mother Jingō-Kōgō, and to his consort (Female-Deity).

Otokoyama-Hachiman, and Iwashimizu-Hachiman are both different names for one and the same God Hachiman or Honda-no-Shō-Hachiman.

Although Hachiman was a war-god, He is probably the first Shintō Deity to be amalgamated with Buddhism, so that we usually call him Hachiman-Dai-Bosatsu (or Hachiman-Mahā-Bodhisattva). It goes without saying that the words "hachi man" or "eight banners" are in connection with the Buddhist Eightfold Holy Path (Skt. *ārya aṣṭāṅgika-mārga*).

The oracle of the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami in our Text is the Japanese version of the "Oracles from the Three Shintō Shrines" in Chinese. So the first part of this Oracle of Hachiman is simply a Japanese version of one of the same Oracles, and it is derived from the Chinese original, where it runs as follows:—

"Even should circumstances force me to accept the hottest iron ball in place of food, I would not receive any offerings from the hands of those who are impure in heart. I would rather sit in the Inferno on a throne of molten brass, than dwell in a house whose owner is polluted in mind."

That the Hachiman Oracle in our Text is a mere Japanese translation of this Oracle of Hachiman in Chinese with some other addenda can be readily seen.

The original home of the God Hachiman is Usa, in the

Province of Buzen, Kyūshū, whence the Divine Spirit of the God Hachiman was transported to the Otoko-Yama Shrine in Yamashiro, in 860 (the 2nd year of Jōgan, the reign of the Emperor Seiwa), by the government authorities approving the petition offered by the Buddhist monk Gyōkyō. This is the reason why some of the oracles ascribed to the God Hachiman of Usa in our *Warongo*, are also handed down as the Oracles of the Hachiman of Iwashimizu or Otokoyama in Yamashiro. For after all the God Hachiman is one and the same (*i. e.*, Honda-no-Shōhachiman).

According to the author of the *Japanese Analects*, the poem on p. 19 *supra* was revealed to Sasaki Nobutsuna in 1204 (the 1st year of Genkyū). And why, critically or rather sceptically considered, should the year 1204 be given rather than any other? The 15th day on which the Oracle is said to have been revealed is given not without reason, for it is the festival day of the God Hachiman.

Besides, the thoughtful student of the science of religion will not fail to observe how deeply the idea in the Oracle of Hachiman is tinged with Buddhist doctrine.

CHAPTER III

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF KAMO (KAMO-KŌTAIJINGŪ)

"For the pious soul, a single bow before Me suffices to secure Divine Protection: he shall have his desires fulfilled, How much more then is it the case with those who frequently come and worship Me!"

If a man's thought goes a step further and he goes deeper into religious matters, he will perchance say with a poet of former days:—

"So long as a man's mind is in accord with the way of truth, the gods will guard him although he may not pray." *

* We have taken the liberty of making use of Viscount Sayematsu's translation in his book, *The Risen Sun* (p. 199), with a little modification.

Shakespear also wrote :

" To thine own self be true
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

There are two shrines erected to the God of Kamo. That known as the "Upper Shrine," or "Kami-Gamo" is at the foot of Mt. Kamo, in Kyōto, Yamashiro, and is dedicated to the God Kamo-Waké-Ikazuchi. The other known as the "Lower Shrine," or "Shimo Gamo" is at Tadasu-no-mori in the same locality and is raised in honour of his grandfather Kamo-Takétsunumi-no-Mikoto and his mother Tamayori-Himé, the daughter of Kamo-Takétsunumi. Both the Upper and Lower Shrines are very celebrated in Japanese history, and are now Government Shrines of the First Grade.

Like the Shintō priestess Sai-Ō or Sai-Gū of Isé, the Sai-In of Kamo (a Japanese Pythia) is well known in the annals of Japao. The first Sai-In of Kamo was Uehiko-Nai-Shinnō, a daughter of the Emperor Saga (reigned 810-823), and in each succeeding reign until that of the Emperor Toba (reigned 1184-1198), an Imperial daughter or granddaughter was appointed Sai-In of Kamo.

The annual festival of Kamo is very famous in Japan. It is called the "Aoi-Matsuri" (literally "hollyhock festival" or "aré", the derivation of this word is uncertain, but it is said that "aré" means either "to be born" or "gayly"). The horserace held on that occasion was a scene of joy and merry-making.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF KASUGA (KASUGA-DAIMYŌJIN)

"Even though a man provides Me with a nice clean room, offering Me the rare and precious treasures of the land, and hanging up the sevenfold sacred ropes (Jap. *shimé*), pray-

ing to Me earnestly with his whole heart and mind for hundreds of days, I am unwilling to favour a house with My presence, whose owner is either dishonest, harsh, or greedy.

"But even though one, by reason of deep mourning for a deceased parent is polluted, and therefore cannot invite Me, nevertheless if he be always kind-hearted towards others, he may expect Me to appear in his dwelling, because I, the Kami, am truly the very Incarnation of Mercy.

"Listen all ye, My people!

"If you desire to obtain Divine aid, emancipate yourselves from all foolish pride and egotism, for even a hair's breadth of that kind of vanity separates you from God (Kami) as effectually as though by a mass of thick clouds;

"Hearken once more!

"Since the good God lives on the spiritual ambrosia of the True Religion (the Buddhist True Law), He delights not in the various kinds of offerings made by mortal hands."

(1) The God of Kasuga is Buddhistically called the "Bodhisattva full of Mercy." Also, it is said by the Buddhist monk Saigyō that mercy or loving-kindness is the foundation of all good deeds and makes the essence of all the Buddhas.

(2) The Buddhist Law or Dharma, *i. e.*, the religion of the Buddha. The idea is also expressed in a number of Buddhist Sūtras; for instance, "The Tathāgata lives on the Law." "The Sweetness of the Law (Skt. *dharmarasa*) is nourishment in religion, and so I am now all free from hunger and thirst." The Buddhist priest Nichiren (1222-1283) also says:—"The Heavenly and Earthly Deities lived on the Lotus of the True Law (Skt. *Sadharma-puṇḍarika*), and from uprightness and honesty did they procure their own vital strength."

The God of Kasuga, *i. e.*, Kasuga-Daimyōjin is not one god but actually a body of four gods: *vis.*, (1) Takémikazuchi-no-Kami, whose original shrine is at Kashima in the Province of Hitachi, (2) Futsunushi-no-Kami to whom a famous temple is dedicated at Katori, Shimōsa, (3) Amé-no-Koyané-no-Mikoto, the alleged ancestor of the Fujiwara family, and (4)

the consort of Amé-no-Koyané-no-Mikoto.

To the popular religious consciousness of the Japanese at the time when the oracle was composed, not four gods, but practically one god is meant under the name of the so-called Kasuga-Daimyōjin. The shrine is named after the well-known Mt. Kasuga in Nara, and it is celebrated for the number of sacred deer living in the park, which, never being hunted, are fearless of men's footsteps.

Also note that the God of Kasuga is the guardian deity of the Fujiwara family.

The first half of the above-mentioned oracle of the God of Kasuga constitutes, with more or less alteration of wording from the original Chinese, part of what is called the "Oracles from the Three Shintō Shrines" (i. e., Isé, Kasuga, and the Shrine of the God Hachiman), which, originally written in Chinese, runs as follows:—

"If one ceremoniously invite Me to his abode by hanging up sacred ropes for thousands of days yet I would not visit him if he is dishonest, harsh, and greedy, yet I am willing to repair to any house the heart of whose owner is full of compassion and mercy, even though men say he is exceedingly unclean on account of his being in deep mourning for his deceased father or mother."

In the oracle found in the *Japanese Analects*, the beautiful idea that the Good Kami lives on the spiritual Ambrosia of the True Law, and therefore can dispense with various offerings made by mortals, compares well with that of the Hebrew Prophet Hosea. Hosea says, "I (Yahweh) desire mercy, and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (*Hos.* vi, 6). The Hebrew Psalmist also says, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise" (*Ps.* LI, 17).

In the Pauline Epistles, also the same idea is expressed:

"I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service" (*Rom.*

xii. 1).

"For the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink ; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost " (*ibid.* xiv, 17).

The so-called *Shintō Pentateuch* teaches us the same truth. Thus we read :

"What pleases God is virtue and sincerity, and not various kinds of delicious offerings."

CHAPTER V

THE ORACLE OF THE TENJIN OF KITANO

"Hearken all ye, My people !

"If you will have your prayers granted, cleanse yourselves without, or pray with hearts pure and stainless as a mirror. If anyone who is falsely accused enquire of Me for seven days to be delivered and I fail to do so, I will confess Myself unworthy of the very title of Kami (God), because I lack the Divine Potency to give aid to the just and stand by the oppressed."

"To cleanse oneself within and without " means "To be pure in mind and body," which is otherwise expressed as "May our six senses be pure" (The six senses are sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and the inner sense). This expression and this idea are both inherited by Shintō from Buddhism and are not found so far in original Shintō, which simply exacts bodily purity although to a somewhat extreme, but no mental or spiritual purity worth mentioning. The student of Shintō may well bear in mind that the purification performed by Izanagi-no-Mikoto (the Male-Who-Invites) in a small river near Tachibana, Himuka (now Hyūga) after his visit to Hades, *i. e.*, to remove the hideous pollution of the Underworld consists in purifying his body with lustral water but not his mind (*vide* Chamberlain's English translation of the *Kojiki*, or *Records of Ancient Matters*, p. 44). But, on the contrary, you may observe that

this idea and its expression betray themselves in many a Shintō treatise in which Buddhist influence is more or less traceable, e.g., the *Shintō Pentateuch*.

Hayashi Razan (1583—1657), a celebrated scholar of Chinese classics in the Tokugawa Period, acknowledged these two kinds of Purity in Shintō, which, he tells us, he was taught by a Shintō priest, and he said:—

“There are two kinds of Purity in those who worship the Sun-Goddess at the Shrine in Isé—the one Outward, and the other Inward.

“Not to eat flesh and garlic, not to drink intoxicants or *saké*, not to commit sexual vice, in short, to keep one's body set apart from all kinds of defilement—this is Outward Purity, otherwise called lustration.

“Heart reverence and a total forgetting of worldly gain and honour, we call Inward Purity. This is indeed Heart-Purity.

“It is most regrettable that among the worldly minded at the present day, even this outward purity, which is so simple and easy to practise, is hardly observed, and still less so is inward purity of heart.

“And yet remember that this is exceedingly displeasing to God” * (Razan's *Collected Essays*, vol. LXVII, p. 2).

The same idea was already found in Saka Shibutsu's *Pilgrimage to the Isé Shrine*, and the celebrated Buddhist monk Soseki (posthumously called Musō-Kokushi's *Questions and Answers in a Dream*.

Both these Shintō and Confucian ideas about purity are akin to the teaching of the Buddha Gautama, when he says:—

“Destroying living beings, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, lying, fraud and deception, worthless reading, intercourse

* Cf. Matt. v, 27-29, 8.

James, IV, 4. 6-8.

Matt. XV, 1-1; 16-20.

Mark VII, 1-5; 15; 18-23.

Isaiah I, 11-17.

with another's wife ;—this is Āmagandha, but not the eating of flesh " (*Suttanipāta*, s. B. E. vol. x, p. 41).

" Neither the flesh of fish, nor fasting, nor nakedness, nor the tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough skins, nor fire-worship, nor endless penances in this world, nor hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifice, nor observance of the seasons, purify a mortal who has not conquered his doubt " (*ibid.* p. 42).

Daitō-Kokushi or Myōchō (1282-1337), a Buddhist monk of note says:—

" The Land of Bliss (Skt. *Sukhāvatī*)! The Land of Bliss! It is not without, it is within us. By purging ourselves of the three passions (*vis.*, greediness, anger and ignorance), we may be said to reach the Land of Bliss. Where there is no evil thought or selfish desire, there is the Land of Bliss, and nowhere else! "

The idea expressed at the close of the Oracle of the Tenjin reminds one of some of the forty-four original vows promulgated by the Buddha Amitābha for the purpose of saving all creatures from being overcome by the tossing waves in the endless Ocean of Death and Re-birth (vide *Amitāyus-sūtra*, or larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*. Nanjio's *Catalogue*, no. 27). The author of the *Japanese Analects* seems to have been much influenced by such kindred Buddhistic ideas. And, seen from another religious point of view, this is partly because of the accusation and suffering of the innocent Sugawara Michizané (posthumously deified as " Tenjin Sama," or " Celestial Deity ") in the latter part of his life, which fact our author interprets as the sinless suffering of the good, and naturally was led to a faint idea of something like the Messianic suffering in deepest sympathy with the sad end of the poor yet rare noble-minded loyal minister, comparing him with a Buddhist ascetic, named Hōzo-Biku, who afterwards attained the Buddhahood and became the Buddha Amitābha through the strict practice of long-continued self-mortification.

The fundamental idea underlying the Oracle of the God of

Kamo is already traceable in some traditional accounts prior to the age in which we came to have the Oracle in the form we have now in our Text.

In one such we read :—

“ Have faith in Me :
In earnest make your prayer.
If, then, no answer to your plea be given,
I am no longer Lord ;
And I must abdicate the Holy Throne.”

Another version runs as follows :—

“ My Grace descends
On all who come with prayers.
This is my promise and my constant will.
He only is not saved,
Who spends his days without true faith in Me.”

The renown of Fujiwara Shunzei (1116-1204), his son Teika* (1262-1241) and their descendants for their skilful composition of Japanese odes is widely known. For generation after generation they were all honoured with the Laureateship from the Kamakura Period down to the close of the Tokugawa Period. And wherefore ? It is, they believe, because Shunzei visited the Kamo Shrine to pray to the God not only once but for a thousand days continuously. So, taken all together and set in order, the main part of the Oracle of the God of Kamo quoted in our text will be found to be composed of the above mentioned ideas.

As is well know, Sugawara Michizané, once a Minister of State to whom the title “ Tenjin Sama,” or “ Celestial Deity ” (God of Heaven) was posthumously given, fell a victim to the intrigues of his notorious political rival Fujiwara Toki-

* Teika, the most distinguished Japanese poet during the Middle Ages, is called the “ Kasei ” or the “ Milton of Japan.” The celebrated collection of Japanese Odes, *Hyakunin-issu*, was selected by him. For an English translation of these odes, see F. V. Dickins, *Hyaku-Nin-Issu, or Japanese Lyrical Odes*.

hira, and was banished as far as Dazai-Fu in Kyūshū. What a sudden change in his life! How sad a fate was his! To-day a minister, and to-morrow an exile! What an unmerited disgrace! Who ever experienced such calamity in the short course of his life?

Therefore on his way from Kyōto, the then capital of Japan, to Kyūshū, at a certain stage of the journey he replied to a postmaster in the following words:—

"You are surprised
That I, a Minister of State
But yesterday, to-day in exile am.
Good postmaster, wonder not;
'Tis fortune's frown, and common in this world."

In his exile at Dazai-Fu (901-903), Michizané passed away in unabated rage with his bitter foe, Fujiwara Tokihira. It is said, in Kyūshū, that one day he ascended a high peak of Tempai-Zan (Heaven-Worshipping Mount) and prayed with all his might and for seven days and seven nights to the Supreme Lord of Heaven for revenge.

This was, indeed, a horrible curse upon his political foes! So it was generally believed that he afterwards became "Arahitogami," or "Awful Deity," *i. e.*, "Angry Spirit" remaining unappeased when he breathed his last, dying an ignominious death, and that consequently he caused various calamities not only to his political enemy, but to the whole nation of Japan also; such, for example, as terrible thunderstorms, inundations, and many other catastrophes.

Owing to the curses sent by the condemned Michizané's spirit, some of the court officials and several dignitaries of State died suddenly. Even the Mikado Daigo (885-930) came to fear the wrath of Michizané's revengeful ghost, who was a thirst to redress the the grievances done to himself by striking his political enemy with thunderbolts from the sky, because Michizané (like Jove) was now the Tenjin (Lord of Heaven, or Celestial Deity) and at the same time an awful thunder-god.

This is one of the reasons why every one so dreaded the

angry spirit of Michizané, and in order to appease the wrathful ghost, devotional feeling for the shrines of Kitano and of Dazai-fu were cultivated by the Imperial Court and the Japanese people, and soon afterwards both shrines became the central object of the national worship.

Although Michizané was an "Arahitogami" or "Revengeful Spirit," yet he was specially sympathetic with the weak who piously expressed their sorrows and sufferings under the calamities and oppressions brought on them by the strong. In one of his oaths, he reveals this divine will and says :—

"I shall be the celestial Helper of the helpless in this world's calamities, the superhuman Avenger of evil-doers, the uncompromising upright Judge against the unjust."

It is said that the above quoted oracle was delivered through the medium of the young son of a Shintō priest, who was then seven years old.

A court-lady of the Emperor Toba (1105-1156), Shōdai-shin by name, being disgraced on a charge of theft, and the Buddhist priest Ninshun, falsely accused in connection with a woman, prayed for help to the Tenjin of Kitano.

Thus poor Shōdaishin exclaimed :—

"Give help to one
Who suffers, falsely charged :—
Who bears the false accuser's brand,
Just as it fell on you
Ere you attained to Godhood's awful state."

And thus the priest Ninshun implores :—

"Have pity, pray,
On all in suffering :
Have mercy where the false accuser turns,
Though all the people be
Still chill in heart and coldly merciless."

In striking contrast, this awful Deity "Arahitogami" has another aspect which is very mild, calm, and peaceful. He is revered as the God of calligraphic art and learning, because the Hakurakuten of Japan, as Michizané was called, was at the

same time a man of letters, exceedingly well conversant with Chinese classics, perhaps unsurpassed by any other Japanese contemporary statesman or savant or any who lived before him, except the Prince Regent Shōtoku, or Shōtoku Taishi in the reign of the Empress Suiko* (554-628).

Thus highly revered, the Tenjin-Sama or Tenmangū-Sama is the "Father of Letters" in Japan, and has taken the same position as Confucius in China, so that his shrines at Dazai-Fu in Kyūshū and Kitano in Kyōto are called the "Mausolea of the Sage," or "Seibyō" in the same manner as that of the Chinese Sage Confucius is named. These two shrines are now Government Shrines of the Second Grade.

Kan-Shōjō or Michizané was born at Kyōto in the year 845 and died at Kyūshū in 903, in the reign of the Emperor Daigo, at the age of 59 to the intense grief of the whole nation.

Immediately after his sad end, a number of private and public shrines was consecrated to his posthumous honour, and, in the year 1004, the Emperor Ichijō (980-1011) was pleased to repair to and worship at the Shrine at Kitano in person.

Like the Chinese human God Kantei (*Kuantī*) or Kanwu (*Kuan-yū*, *d.* 220), an illfated warrior apotheosized after his death among the Chinese, since his death Tenjin Sama or Tenmangū has been one of the most popular Shintō deities, and widely worshipped throughout Japan—in fact the form of the worship was much influenced by Buddhist ideas and rites.

The 25th of the 1st Month being the day of Michizané's death, the annual festival called Tenjinkō was and is kept annually in honour of him on the same day (formerly much more so than now) by children, who earnestly desire to become masters in calligraphy and learning, because Tenjin-Sama in this respect is their Perfect Ideal.

* As regards the lyrical ode by Sugawara Michizané (Kankē), *vide* F. V. Dickin's English translation of *the Hyakunin-isshu, or Japanese Lyrical Odes*.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORACLE OF FUJI DAIGONGEN

"When people indulge themselves in sexual pleasures, the fountainhead of their inner virtue and wisdom is completely dried up, and consequently the moon of Divine Grace sends no spiritual light upon the surface of the water."

We hardly need even mention the name of Mt. Fuji or Fujisan (Fujiyama) of Japan, because the fame of that mountain is so widely known both at home and abroad. A native poet of an early age sings thus :—

"There on the border, where the land of Kai
Doth touch the frontier of Suruga's land,
A beauteous province stretched on either hand,
See Fujiyama rear his head on high !

"The clouds of heaven in reverent wonder pause,
Nor may the birds those giddy heights assay
Where melt thy snows amid thy fires away,
Or thy fierce fires lie quenched beneath thy snows.

"What name might fitly tell, what accents sing,
Thine awful, godlike grandeur ? 'Tis thy breast
That holdeth Narusawa's flood at rest,
Thy side whence Fujikawa's waters spring.

"Great Fujiyama, towering to the sky !
A treasure art thou giv'n to mortal man,
A God-Protector watching o'er Japan :—
On thee forever let me feast mine eye."*

Possibly the word "Fuji" may have been derived from the Ainu word "fuchi"† (the verb "push" "to burst forth")

* Translated by B. H. Chamberlain (*Things Japanese*, p. 179).

† Besides, Aston seems to wish to derive the word "fuji" from the Korean word "pul" which means fire in connection with the Japanese word "futsu." Aston, *Shinto, the Way of the Gods* (p. 156).

which means "fire" or the "goddess of fire." As is often the case, the object of the worship may with all probability be primarily the mountain itself and later, the mountain deity conceived as presiding over the mountain, that is to say, a mountain spirit. So, in the *Fuji-San-Ki* or *Record of Mt. Fuji* by Miyako Yoshika (844-879) we find the passage, "There is a God in the mountain, Asama-Ō-Kami (Great God of Asama) by name. In the Chinese pronunciation, "asama" is pronounced "sengen," so that the shrine consecrated to the Deity of Mt. Fuji has been called the Sengen-Jinja. Gradually, in course of time, the Yamato-people came to identify the Deity of the mountain with the Shintō-Goddess Konohana-no-Sakuya-Himé, a daughter of the Mountain-God Ōyamatsumi, but with insufficient reason.

In the later period of the amalgamation of Shintō with Buddhism, the popular belief in the Goddess is much tintured with several Buddhist ideas, and the Goddess was given the title "Gongen" (Skt. *avatāra*, descent), meaning the earthly apparition in time of an original Buddha of eternity. In this connection the reader may well remind himself of that singular and somewhat fantastic religious figure En-no-Shōkaku, commonly called En-no-Gyōja, who being a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism, and Shintoism, was called a hermit or an ascetic, i. e., a *gyōja*.

In the Tokugawa Period the new rise of the so-called Fujikō or association of devout Fuji-Pilgrims deserves our special attention.

Tōkaku of Nagasaki (otherwise called Kakugyō-Shinjin), its Founder, tried to utilize the existence of this loftiest and noblest of mountains not only for developing people's physical strength but for improving their moral characters by making in summer every year men from all quarters of Japan undertake a pilgrimage to its honourable peak. The pilgrims, in ascending the Sacred Mountain, used to recite the prayer, "May our six senses be pure, and the weather on the honourable mount-

ain be fair.* Thus a great change has taken place from mere nature worship of a mountain to that of a moral nature. The original belief in the mountain goddess of old eventually became moralized. A more or less flourishing Shintō sect, the Jikkōkyō is the inheritor of Kakugyō.

There are many Sengen-Shrines in the vast space surrounding the foot of Mt. Fuji, but the Sengen-Shrine at Ōmiya in Suruga is now a Government Shrine of the First Grade.

Judging from the above-cited oracle, the Goddess of Fujiyama seems to be a morally ennobled goddess of chastity in the advanced religious consciousness of the author of our Text, partly due to Buddhistic influence. The Goddess is said to be displeased with sexual impurity between man and woman.

On the other hand, the first glimpse of this idea of chastity (as ascribed to the Goddess by the author) may have already been suggested from the well-known *Kojiki-Nihongi* tradition of the Goddess which thus describes the Divine Maiden Konohananosakuya-Himé. The reader should remember that the Goddess is the ideal impersonation of the youthful virgin of great beauty symbolized in cherry blossoms who is the faint distant approach of moral chastity and of woman's faithfulness as well. As to the *Kojiki-Nihongi* tradition of the Goddess, see Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki*, p. 141, and that of the *Nihongi*, by Aston (*Nihongi*, vol. 1, p. 84).

CHAPTER VII

THE ORACLE OF THE GONGEN GOD OF MT. YUDONO, OR YUDONOSAN GONGEN

"Come, all ye, My people! With your body cleansed†

* Cf. the notes on p. 25.

† *Psalms* xv; *Isaiah* 1, 10-20; *James* iv, 3, 4, 6-8, 10.

and your heart* purified, and unfettered from worldly things, worship Me for hundreds of days; then shall ye see the Pure Land of Supreme Happiness (Skt. *Sukhāvati*) and enjoy its bliss even here upon earth, having whatever else ye wish besides fulfilled in this world. I, the essential All-Illuminating One, taking the form of the Deity for a while in this country, desire to call and invite all My Devotees, whose hearts are free from defilement, to the Buddha Country of Mahāvairocana (Great Sun)."

Yudonosan, i. e., Mt. Yudono, is at Higashi-Mura in Tagawa-Gun, Uzen. On this Mountain there still exists the Shrine of the Deity.

What is the meaning of the word "Yudono"? "yu" means "hot water," or "hot spring," and "dono" is an honorific like "sama," both words being added to a person's name in addressing or speaking of him, in the same way as the English use "Sir" or "Esquire." Hence, the expression "Yudonosan" shows us somewhat clearly that the mountain was personified or rather deified in the religious consciousness of the Japanese, at a certain stage of their culture.

Anciently, the God of Yudonosan was not the God Ōyamatsumi, who is now said by some Shintoists to be the spirit of the mountain, but the visible mountain itself, or rather, the streams of hot springs with a jet of steam gushing out from a crevice of the mountain-rocks;—one of the *mumina loci* in primary nature-worship. This is one reason why for so long a time there was no shrine of the god of Mt. Yudono anywhere on that mountain. For if the mountain itself is the very body of a god, it is not surprising that there is no special shrine in which the master-god of the mountain dwells as a house-owner does in his house.

In early days Mt. Yudono was probably, like Mt. Fuji, the object of a simple (primary) nature-worship. But, later, as

* Matthew v, 8; Isaiah vi, 5-7.

the civilization of the country advanced, the God presiding over the mountain was imagined to reside in some special place thereon, as, for example, in its highest peak; and, thus possibly, Yudonosan came to be identified with the classical God Ōyamatsumi, or "Mountain Possessor"* of the *Kojiki*. The worship of Mt. Yudono together with that of the other two mountains, Haguro and Gassan, has until recently been under the complete sway of the gyōja and yamabushi,—leading religious votaries produced by the amalgamation of Shintō and Buddhism, i. e., Ryōbu Shintō. In short, each of them is a Japanese shaman, as they came to be called, in course of time. When ascending the mountain, the gyōja and yamabushi recite the famous versicle "May our six senses be pure!" as pilgrims to Mt. Fuji do.† Hence the Three Sacred Mountains Gassan, Yudonosan, and Hagurosan form a Divine Mountain-triad, and the above-mentioned religious leaders, gyōja and yamabushi, teach that Gassan is the Buddhist Divinity Avalokiteśvara (Kannon, the Chinese Kwan-yin), that Hagurosan is Amitābha (Amida), and Yudonosan is Mahāvairocana (Great Sun, Dainichi). This Mahāvairocana is the principal object of worship in the Shingon Sect to which the yamabushi of Mt. Yudono all belong. Hence the Shingon influence is clearly visible in the Oracle of the Gongen-God of Mt. Yudono. "Gongen" is the Japanese Buddhist idea of the Hindoo *avatāra* (descent), meaning a transitory manifestation of the original Divinity of Buddha-Absolute.

* Cf. *I Kings* xx, 28; also *Genesis*, xxiv, 19, 22.

† See p. 33.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORACLE OF THE WAR-GOD OF KASHIMA
(KASHIMA DAIMYŌJIN)

"Ever bestowing My Divine Grace upon the people of this Central Land of Reed-Plains (*i. e.*, Japan), and reverentially obeying the commands of the Heavenly Gods, I protect Japan against invasion by hostile foreign nations and keep her safe from the dangers of both Earthly and Heavenly demoniac powers, so that not one single native of this land is left outside My divine aid. When many people minister willingly to the national Gods, I grow in strength and the hostile Powers are subdued, but when only very few reverence the Gods, I am uneasy, for My might is weakened.* It is a sad fact that the demoniacal forces frequently outweigh our Divine hosts. This is solely because some minds are blindly captivated by Confucian teachings, and others absorbed in the Buddhist creed recklessly disregard the true Original Way of the Gods (Kami), which is indigenous to the soil of the Rising Sun.

"I dislike all such mental attitude towards foreign things. It is quite true that even foreign teachings—*e. g.*, Confucianism and Buddhism—are, to some extent, useful to us, as ornaments, yet they are to the Original Way of the Kami only what the branches of a tree are to its trunk. Indeed, Shintō is of intrinsic value to us, whilst the other alien teachings are only an auxiliary, and nothing more. Nevertheless, to my distress, people frequently think quite otherwise."

The Shrine is at Kashima-Machi in Kashima-Gun, Hitachi, and is dedicated to the renowned War-God Takémikazuchi-no-Kami, one of the conspicuous figures in the Heavenly dramas of the Divine Age described in the ancient records of Japan.

* In the *Jōei-Shikimoku*, a Japanese law-book, composed under the auspices of Hōjō Yasutoki, we find the same idea: "Man's reverence towards the gods give them power and influence, whilst similarly the aid of the immortal gods renders man more fortunate and happier."

The Kashima Shrine enjoy, great popularity together with the Katori Shrine in Shimōsa, on the opposite bank of the River Toné, which is consecrated to the War-God Futsunushi-no-Kami, both War-Gods having distinguished themselves as heavenly messengers sent down by the Divine Staff of the Plain of High Heaven (Takamagahara) to the district of Idzumo; therefore, even in Kashima, the sanctum of Takémikadzuchi-no-Kami, there is also a shrine dedicated to Futsunushi-no-Kami besides one to Aménokoyané-no-Mikoto (said to be the ancestral Deity of the Fujiwara family), the three Gods, in fact, forming a divine triad. Hence, it may well be supposed that the time-honoured shrine at Kashima was held in quite national reverence in all periods of Japanese History; the Imperial Court itself, the Fujiwara family and the warrior class each revered the shrine alike in times of peace and war. They never failed to render obeisance to the God of Kashima. At present, the shrine is a Government Shrine of the First Grade. Hence, in the Oracle of the God of Kashima, we can easily perceive that the spirit of the national religion of Shintō was still active, and not extinct even after the complete amalgamation of Shintō with Buddhism. If we interpret the Oracle in its best sense we find in it the spirit of a true, enthusiastic patriotism, for the God of Kashima is a national war-god who defends Japan against foreign intruders, and subdues the Izumo people. And further, the God tells the Japanese people that they may embrace the Buddhist faith or follow the Confucian teachings, provided that they do not err from the true way of the original spirit of Japan.

This idea is the same as that expressed in an Ode which is said to have been composed by the Emperor Kōkaku (1771-1840):—

“However good

The things of foreign lands;

They all are worthless for this land of ours,

Unless remoulded first,

And animated by our Nation's soul.”

This is just what is popularly termed "Wakon-Kansai," or "The Japanese soul aided by Chinese culture," in a passage ascribed to Sugawara Michizane although on insufficient grounds.

In the book entitled *Yui-ichishintō-Myōhōyōshū*, whose authorship is attributed to Urabé-Kanénoh, but is more probably by his descendant Urabé Kanétomo (1435-1511) who wrote *Shintō-Taii* we read:—

"Each of the three countries, India, China, and Japan, discloses her own peculiar characteristic. If compared to a tree, then Japan produced the seed, China the branches and leaves, India the flowers and fruit, so that Buddhism is the fruit, Confucianism the branches and leaves, Shintō the root firmly struck in the Japanese soil, *i. e.*, the substratum or foundation of the tree. Both the foreign teachings are, however, no more than two different ramifications of one and the same fundamental principle, *i. e.*, Shintoism. By the leaves, branches, flowers and fruit, we can tell the root.

"The flower withers and the seed comes in its stead, and from that seed we have the root anew. Hence that the Buddhism of India transplanted into Japan, struck root and bore a fruitful harvest simply amounts to saying that Japan is the root-land among these three lands, *i. e.*, Japan is the centre and foundation of the world."

In the *Myōhōyōshū*, the author says that this is what Shōtoku-Taishi once submitted to the Throne. The same idea is found in the book *Shintō-Taii* written by Urabé Kanétomo.

It is clear that the author of the *Japanese Analects* obtained the fundamental idea incorporated in our Oracle from some such trend of thought on our national life.

China called herself the Middle Kingdom, just like Christians of Europe in the Middle Ages considered Jerusalem to be the Navel, or Centre of the earth, as it was the scene of the life, crucifixion and resurrection of the Saviour Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER IX

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF CHIKUBUSHIMA
(CHIKUBUSHIMA DAIMYŌJIN)

"Although I dwell in the Western Region,* I shall never forget to take care of the people of the South-Eastern lands, especially of Japan.

"Though I am hidden† and invisible in Heaven and Earth, yet I manifest Myself in musical songs. If a man's heart be upright, I shall never fail to confer the riches which are within My gift‡ upon him, and so confirm his belief in the Shintō and Buddhist deities.

"As I am the Embodiment of the Spirit of Mercy and Benevolence even though a man is harsh and greedy, if he come and pray to Me, I am not reluctant to bestow on him abundant wealth, but let him convert himself into a good honest person with a contrite heart, for undoubtedly I will cause every upright person to enjoy all My gifts of Grace."

Chikubushima, or the Islet of Chikubu, lying in the famous Lake Biwa in the Province of Ōmi, is deservedly celebrated for the great beauty of its natural scenery. The Divinity once presiding over this small island of pine clad, fantastic rocks was Benzaiten or Benten by name, as the original Brahmanic River-goddess Sarasvati is called in Japan, but now it is the Shintō-goddess Asaihimé-no-Mikoto. This islet, together with the beautiful island of Itsukushima (*viz.*, Miyajima in Aki Province) in the Inland Sea and the picturesque island of Enoshima in Sagami near Kamakura, forms a renowned trio of holy sites for Benzaiten's worship in Japan.

It is a remarkable fact, well deserving our attention, that at some places this Goddess is worshipped with Buddhist rites and elsewhere according to Shintō usages; thus affording us a

* India?

‡ Cf. *Proverbs* VIII, 17-21.

† *Isaiah* XLV, 15.

curious example of the survival of a complete hybrid divinity belonging to both Buddhism and Shintō even at this day so long after the beginning of the Meiji Era, when the Government put an end to the Ryōbu Shintō or Syncretic Shintō by severing the connection between Shintō and Buddhism, which had existed for about one thousand years. This goddess being of Hindoo origin, it is quite natural that the Island of Chikubu should have been consecrated to the local goddess Asaihimé-no-Mikoto, niece (or sister) to Ibuki, the god of the famous Mountain Ibuki in Ōmi called Tatanihiko-no-Mikoto, before the Benzaiten worship was imported into this island, just as Mt. Hiyēi came under Buddhist influence. Although the Indian faiths apparently conquered, the native local belief was never extinguished, for Benzaiten as worshipped in Japan is not strictly Hindoo in her character but is very much Japanized, *i. e.*, greatly mixed up with Shintō ideas; thus, for example, we find a miniature *torii* (honorary gateway) attached to Benzaiten's crown which is a characteristic Shintō symbol, although its actual origin is much disputed by scholars.

Moreover, we find the symbol of a dragon also attached to the crown as well as the Shintō *torii*, and this is never found in the original Hindoo Benzaiten (Skt. *Sarasvatī*).

Further the Japanese with their wonderful power of assimilation went so far as to consider Benzaiten one of the Seven Gods of Luck, because she is the goddess of wealth and music* as well as of wisdom and eloquence. This is why the student will find the ideas of Shintō and Buddhism so perfectly combined and so thoroughly naturalized in the Oracle of the Goddess of Chikubushima quoted in our Text.

* Her musical instrument is a kind of harp called "biwa," whence, possibly, is derived the name of the lake which is anciently called Ōmi-no-Umi (Nio-no-Umi). Of course, this is mere conjecture. The Japanese Seven Gods of Luck are an amalgamation of gods from India, China, and Japan.

CHAPTER X

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF ATSUTA (ATSUTA DAIMYŌJIN)
TOGETHER WITH THE ORACLE OF THE GOD
OF SUMINOÉ

"All ye, My people under the sun! By obeying the righteous commands of the gods enjoy the happiness of the Kingdom* of the gods which knows neither hatred nor sorrow, for it surpasses all the regions in the Three Worlds,† and you are all the offspring of Father-Heaven and Mother-Earth, so that all beings in the world are *de facto* brothers.

"Be respectful and loyal to the Mikado as the All-Illuminating August Sun-Goddess once commanded us. Should any foes arise against the Mikado, come to Me and name them, for I will lose no time in going to destroy them for His Majesty's sake."

The shrine of the God is at Atsuta-Machi, in Aichi-Gun, Owari, and is now a Government Shrine of the First Grade. The Divine Body (*Shintai*) is the famous Kusanagi Sword, or Murakumo Sword, which, tradition says, was found by Susanō-no-Mikoto, the brother of the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami, in the tail of the eight-headed Monster Serpent when he slew it in the Divine Age, and this divine Sword together with the Mirror and the Jewel constitutes the Imperial Regalia (*i. e.*, the Three Sacred Treasures) of Japan.‡

At one time the Sword was kept in the Great Shrine at

* Acts, xvii. 27-29.

† *Vide* the note on the Oracle of the God Hachiman, p. 19.

‡ *I. e.*, the Medium by which the Divine Spirit can manifest Itself. It is said that Agamemnon's sword was worshipped in Greece in the time of Pausanias; and the sword was deified in Teutonic mythology (Aston, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, pp. 157, 219). Also the Kusanagi Sword was itself deified, in long association with the God Susanō-no-Mikoto, and therefore it was called sometimes the Divine Sword and sometimes the Sword-Deity.

Note that the Sword of Karl der Grosse called Joyeuse was preserved and used at all later coronations of the French kings; that a similar sword formed part

Isé besides the Mirror, and thence Prince Yamato-Také (or, Yamatotakéru-no-Mikoto), by the permission of his aunt, the priestess Yamato-Himé, took it to protect himself* on his adventurous expedition to the North-eastern Provinces and Mt. Ibuki in Ōmi.

The Shrine at Atsuta was afterwards consecrated to the Divine Sword by Miyasu-Himé, a consort of Prince Yamato-Také at Owari.

A wondrous Divine Sword, miracle-working, indeed ! First, for instance, in the Emperor Keikō's reign Prince Yamato-Také narrowly escaped from death by burning while hunting at Yaizu in Suruga. The treacherous savages set fire to the grass in the plain around him, but he mowed a clear space for himself with this August Sword which, according to a tradition, at that crisis unsheathed itself of its own accord to rescue the life of the prince.

On another occasion, tradition says that a Korean Buddhist Dōgyō† in the reign (668) of the Emperor Tenchi having stolen the Sword out of the Atsuta Shrine, tried to take it across to Korea ; but a violent storm suddenly arose on his voyage home and drove him back to the shores of Japan where he was arrested. The Sword was then restored to the safe custody of

of the Regalia of Scotland; and that at the coronation of the sovereigns of the British Empire it is given from off the altar to the monarch who afterwards replaces it there in its scabbard, and a peer of the realm "redeems" it thence and drawing it out of the scabbard carries it naked before His Majesty during the rest of the solemnity.

Frazer says, "The regalia of every petty Malay state are believed to be endowed with supernatural powers.—People attach so much weight to the regalia that whoever is in possession of them is popularly held to be the reigning prince" (*Golden Bough*, 18, 1, p. 142). Cf. "On the Ancient Bronze Drum in South-Eastern Asia and the Archipelago of East India," in the Japanese historical magazine *Shigaku Zasshi* (NO. 150, p. 492), translated and supplemented by Dr. K. Tsuboi from the original by Dr. De Groot.

* Cf. carefully the suggestive parallel incident in the history of David (1 Samuel xiv, 3; xvii, 51, 54; xxi, 1-9; xxii, 12, 13; xxiii, 6.

† See Aston's *Translation of the Nihongi*, vol. II, p. 290. Dōgyō was called Dōchi by some. The author of the *Shaka-Jūran* put Nichira for Dōgyō.

its former guardians. All this, it is said, happened because of the miraculous virtue of the Divine Sword.

As to the thoughts uttered in the above Oracle, some of which are highly ethical while some are still nationalistic, the student of the science of religion may well compare them with what Jesus the son of Sirach once said :—

“The Most High hath no pleasure in the offerings of the ungodly,

Neither is he pacified for sins by the multitude of sacrifices.

To depart from wickedness is a thing pleasing to the Lord;

And to depart from unrighteousness is a prohibition.
Have mercy upon us, O Lord, the God of all, and behold;

And send forth thy fear upon all the nations;

Lift up thy hand against the strange nations;

And let them see thy mighty power.”

(*Sir.* 34 : 16, 19 ; 35 : 3 ; 36 : 1-3)

Compare the Oracle of Atsuta Daimyōjin with the following Oracle of the Gods of Suminoyé, known as the Austere, August Spirits of Uwazutsu-no-o, Nakazutsu-no-o and Sokozutsu-no-o.

“All the people of this Land are the children of the Sun-Goddess. Those, however, who ignore Her parental instructions and follow in earnest only teachings of foreign origin are not privileged to be called Her sons, and She will not stand by them. Bear this in mind and do not fail to observe this Heavenly command from the Sun-Goddess, all ye, our people !”

CHAPTER XI

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF SUWA (SUWA DAIMYŌJIN)

"Even though a man kill the living and eat the flesh of animals, whereby he is made unclean,* yet if he be honest and truthful, I will always be with him and use My utmost exertions in his behalf, by entreating all the Superior Deities to bestow their unseen protection upon him, so that his wishes may be fulfilled.

"I am loath to grant My protection to those who are unjust and dishonest, although they hang sacred ropes (Jap. *shimé*) for a thousand days hoping thereby to purify themselves and worship the Kami (God).

"I would rather be the God of one who, although he eats flesh, is yet pure in heart."†

We have now two Suwa Shrines : one is at Kami (Upper) Suwa, the other at Shimo (Lower) Suwa, in Suwa-Gun, Shinano. Both are consecrated to the God Takéminakata-no-Kami, and His consort Yasakatome-no-Mikoto and are now Government Shrines of the Second Grade.

The God, or Divine Hero, Takéminakata is a very conspicuous figure in the legendary history of the Divine Age. He belongs to the Izumo branch of the Divine Family, being a son of Ōkuninushi-no-Kami, and descended from the renowned Susanō-no-Mikoto, brother of the Sun-Goddess, Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami.

Defeated by Takémikazuchi-no-Kami, the Divine Messenger to Izumo from the Plain of High Heaven, Takéminakata-no-Kami was driven out of Izumo Province and fled as far as

* *Mark* VII, 1-9, 14-16; *Matthew* XV, 15-20; and cf. with these words of Jesus to St. Peter in the Gospel the vision recorded in *Acts* X, 9, 14, 15. And also see the Oracle of the God of Kasuga, especially. p. 23.

† Compare 1 *Samuel* XV, 22; and *Jeremiah* VII, 21-25. With regard to eating unclean food or clean-sacrifices of animals, see *Deuteronomy* XII, 13-15; XIV, 4, 5.

to Suwa in Shinano, where he at last submitted and was allowed to dwell in peace, and has ever since enjoyed a divine reputation.

Wild boars and deer are the special animals offered to this God;* and the yearly ceremony of this blood-shedding sacrifice has never ceased (although opposed to the orthodox Buddhist Law which commands total abstinence from flesh-eating) even after Shintō and Buddhism were amalgamated under the term "Ryōbu-Shintō."

The excuse given is that the Divine Will works miraculously and singles out only those beasts, which are on the verge of dying a natural death, and causes them to be caught and sacrificed to the Deity in behalf of the future welfare of the animal-creation, and thus these beasts (in accordance with the mystical idea underlying the Buddhist "gō" or "karma") gain for themselves a better re-incarnation in another and higher kingdom than that of the animal-world through the Grace of that Deity, to whom they willingly yielded their lives in sacrifice.*

By such Jesuistical far-fetched explanations and casuistry, the ethical religion of the Buddha gradually completed its compromise with the nature-religion of primitive Shintō which is, in this respect, diametrically opposed to the Buddhist doctrine of universal benevolence or unconditional mercy towards all sentient creatures.

This example is one out of many which proves how Buddhism sought to naturalize itself in the soil of Japan so as to become one with the indigenous Shintō faith. Such a compromise, on the part of Buddhism, is due to the principle known

* Aston (*Shinto*, p. 205) says that "At the festival of this god the heads of 75 deer are presented as offerings, while the flesh is eaten by the priests."

Cf. with this *Deuteronomy* XII 15; *Exodus* XXIX, 27, 28, 31-33.

Aston also says:—"If others than the priests wish to partake of it without pollution, they get chopsticks from the priests which answer this purpose. These facts point to the conclusion that the *hafuri* (the high priest of Suwa is styled *Ō-hafuri*, great *hafuri*) were originally sacrificers. Offerings of animal food were common in ancient times."

as "hōben" (Skt. *upāyakaśālya*) or "educative tactfulness" or "conventional accommodation of truth to the intelligence of the hearer," as a means to edification, which resembles the Western expressions, "pious fraud," or "priestcraft," which sounds harsher in our ears than the Japanese word "hōben."*

Bearing all the above mentioned historical facts in mind, the student will easily grasp the true significance of the Oracle of Takéminakata, the God of Suwa.

CHAPTER XII

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD TATSUTA (TATSUTA DAINYŌJIN), TOGETHER WITH THE SAYING OF ANO-HOKKYŌ-ZENJŌ

"All ye, My people, high and low, rich and poor! Before you pray to Heaven and Earth as well as to the myriad other deities, it is essential that you should first show filial piety by being obedient to your parents, for in them you can find all the gods of both 'Within and Without.' It is useless to pray to the gods that are 'without,' if you do not serve your parents 'within' (at home) with filial piety."

Who is the God of Tatsuta?

In one of the Shintō Rituals in the *Engishiki*, or *Institutes of the Engi Period* (901-923), we find that there are two Wind Deities, one of whom, Amé-no-Mihashira-no-Mikoto† is male, and the other, Kuni-no-Mihashira-no-Mikoto female.

* The late Mr. Lloyd defines the Buddhist "hōben" to be, "a figurative expression intended to be an accommodation of a great truth to our finite human language" (Lloyd, *Shinran and His Work*, p. 88). The present author has taken the liberty here to make use of his other rendering of the difficult Buddhist term "hōben," too pregnant with meaning to be translated in any European language, mentioned in his *Cred of Half Japan*, p. 282.

† Motoori Norinaga considered that the Wind, the breath of the God Izanagi, is the Amé-no-Mihashira or Heavenly Pillar which supports the heavens upon the ea (rth) The *Kojikiden*, vii; cf. Aston, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, p. 155).

It appears to me that originally they had nothing to do with the Wind-God Shinatsu-Hiko and the Wind-Goddess Shinatsu-Himé mentioned in the *Kojiki*, although some rashly try to identify them, for their origin is quite different, *i. e.*, the gods of Tatsuta are the wind gods particularly restricted to this locality only.

The Tatsuta Shrine at Tatsuno, in Ikoma-Gun, Yamato, is now a Government Shrine of the First Grade.

In an agricultural country like Japan, where men's livelihood depends chiefly on the rice crops, the yearly visitation of their cruel foe, the terrible tempest known as "typhoon" endangers the immense rice-fields and too often brings desolation in its wake to the farmers, mocking their painful toil and hard labour for long months previously, and in a moment snatching away their sole means of subsistence.

Hence, the annual September wind-storm (known to Westerners as "the equinoctial gales") is greatly dreaded by the Japanese farmers everywhere, and, indeed, it is only natural that their forefathers in olden days, being entirely ignorant of natural science should have discerned in such dreadful, uncontrollable natural forces as the Wind-storm, or Fire, something supernatural, altogether transcending human power, in short, something divine, and therefore sought to appease its untimely wrath, and to implore it to turn away its anger and to bestow upon them the bounteous gifts of harvest; and thus they attained a belief in and worshipped the wondrous phenomena of Nature, as awe-inspiring all powerful deities (whether benevolent or malevolent), who could be propitiated.

From such a belief there arose the dread male and female Gods of Tatsuta side by side with the beneficent Corn-Spirit Uka-no-Mitama or Waka-Uka-no-Mikoto in whose honour a shrine was also raised at Hirose, not far from the site of the Tatsuta Shrine in Hirose-Gun, Yamato.

Consequently, the same Imperial homage was paid to both the Shrines of Tatsuta and Hirose twice in every year at the same time. Subsequently, the two Shintō Rituals for the

purpose of propitiating the Wind-God and asking favours from the Corn-Spirit were composed which we now possess in the *Engishiki*.

In the Buddhistic Period, the Buddhist monastery of Hōryūji at Hōryūjimura took the Tatsuta Shintō Shrine under its guardianship and made the God of Tatsuta the tutelary deity of that Buddhist temple just as the Shintō God Hiyoshi was made the guardian deity of the Tendaishū-temple of Enryakuji (Mt. Hiei) near Kyōto, and the Shintō God Amano-Myōjin that of Kōyasan, or the Holy Mountain of the Shingon Sect.

The precepts given in this Oracle of the God of Tatsuta, which command us to be perfect in the fulfilment of our filial duties, remind us of the moral teachings of the Buddha Gautama, for example, those in the *Ānagandha Sutta*,* and those words of Jesus Christ which (exactly like the Buddha) laid more stress upon filial piety than did the Pharisaic relig-

* "Neither the flesh of fish,.....nor oblations, nor sacrifice, nor observance of the seasons, purify a mortal who has not conquered his doubt" (*Suttanipāta*. S.E., vol. X, p. 41).

"Waiting on mother and father, protecting child and wife, and a quiet calling, this is the highest blessing" (*ibid.*, p. 14).

Cf. the following passages from the *Dhammapada* translated from the Chinese by Samuel Beal :—

"If a householder takes care of his father and mother, looks after the welfare of his house, properly fosters his wife and child, and does not occupy himself in vain and useless avocations, he is indeed fortunate" (*Texts from the Buddhist Canon Commonly Known as Dhammapada with Accompanying Narratives*, p. 209).

"What is the use of platted hair, O fool ! What of raiment of goat skins ? Within thee there is ravening, hut outside thou makest clean" (*Dhammapada*. S. E., vol. X, p. 91).

The reader will note that this section (xxxix) of the *Dhammapada* agrees with the *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*. Also, note what the modern Keshub Chunder Sen says :—

"We regard parents, and especially the mother, as a present, visible Deity. Her motherly tenderness represents so truly and so beautifully the Loving-kindness of the Supreme Mother."

Besides, we are informed that in the most primitive times the Sumerians represented a mother by a sign which meant "the Goddess of the house."

ious formalists, and condemned in the strongest terms the stereotyped ritualism which then reigned supreme in Jewry to the exclusion of the "weightier matters of the Law." See *Matthew* (v, 20; xv, 3-9; xxiii, 23-28), *Mark* (vii, 6-13) and *Luke* (xi, 38-42), which, familiar as they are to most Western readers, hardly need be cited in detail in this book.

The following tradition is ascribed to Yoshimuné, the eighth Tokugawa Shōgun, who had some of these divine oracular precepts of the Tatsuta God transcribed and hung upon the walls of his private study, and used them as his guiding principles throughout his life, and from time to time recited them. But the Yoshimuné version differs somewhat from that of the oracle in our Text, and runs as follows:—

"All ye, My people, high and low, rich and poor! Before you pray to Heaven and Earth and to the myriad other deities, it is essential that you first show filial piety by obeying your parents,* for in them you can find all the Gods of both Within and Without. For, are not the Deities of both the Inner and the Outer Shrine of Isé truly present themselves in each of those homes wherein dwells filial piety?"

In the version given in the book called *Zokudanseigo*, we do not find the last three lines attached to the original text, as in the Yoshimuné version, but the sentence ends abruptly with the words "Within and Without." Whereas (it is worth our while observing), the addition found in the Yoshimuné version actually constitutes part of another divine oracle which is ascribed to the God of Mishima (Mishima Daimyōjin) in Izu Province, and is incorporated in the Oracular Texts given in the *Japanese Analects*.

The same idea is more distinctly expressed in a saying ascribed to Ano-Hokkyō-Zenjō called Imawakamaru in his youth, who was the seventh son of Minamoto Yoshitomo

* *Exodus* xx, 12; *Deuteronomy* v, 16; *Ephesians* vi, 1, 2-4; *Colossians* iii, 20; *Romans* i, 30.

(*id.* 1160), according to the author of the *Japanese Analects*. It runs as follows:—

"First fulfil your duties toward your parents before you pray to God in order to secure your own welfare. For, are we not told that our parents are the twin Deities in Heaven and Earth and also the Grand Ancestral Gods of the Inner and Outer Shrines at Isé?"*

Lastly, I must not omit to mention that the above ideas were already taught in a book entitled *Hō-onki (On Filial Duty)* by Zonkaku (1290-1373), a Buddhist priest of the Shin Sect, who emphasized his views on filial piety by a reference to the following passages of the *Sijūnishō-Kyō*, or *Forty-two Sections Sūtra*.

"Better serve your parents with filial piety than by worshipping the various deities in Heaven and Earth in order to win divine favour, for your parents are the most reverend among the gods, even the highest of the gods."

The idea underlying the moral commandments which Nitta Yoshisada† (1300-1337) gave to his family is akin to that found in the *Japanese Analects*, and it is to the effect:—

"Japanese warriors should observe the following:—

"Without a firm belief in the gods (*kami* and *hotoke*), a warrior cannot win a victory on the battlefield. Let him pray to the gods with his whole heart and mind and soul,...and the righteous gods will save such a pious man, and the very demons will protect him from all ill-fate.'"

Furthermore, Scipio is exhorted "to cultivate justice and piety, which while it should be great toward your parents and relatives should be greatest toward your country. Such a life is the path to heaven" (S. J. Case, *Evolution of Early Christianity*, p. 230).

* As regards this saying, see the *Japanese Analects* (*i. e.*, the Japanese original, vol. v, p. 29).

† Judging by the wording of this sentence, it was possibly composed by some one in the Tokugawa Period under the pretended authority of the famous warrior Nitta Yoshisada.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ORACLE OF THE GONGEN-GOD OF MT. KIMBU (KIMBUSEN
DAIMYŌJIN) TOGETHER WITH THE ORACLE OF
THE GOD OF HIRAOKA (HIRAOKA
DAIMYŌJIN)

"If any of My devout believers worship the Heavenly Deity with his whole heart and mind, it will give pleasure to all Shintō and Buddhist Gods, and his own mind will become illuminated with Divine Light. Should any one worship them only for the brief space of one day and one night, he will not only get rid of all his sufferings in this present life, but all the Buddhas of the Past, Present, and Future will also bestow their Divine Grace upon him, so that he who observes the Five Buddhist Precepts* will be sure to obtain not only the divine protection of all the Gods in Heaven, but even the evil spirits will be hindered from harming him; nay, more, they will actually bow themselves before him with awe and reverence;† this is because the good man is ever under the unseen protection of Heaven."‡

Originally, this Gongen-God was probably a mountain-spirit,§ called Kané-no-Mitaké-no-Kami, but when the amalgamation of Shintō and Buddhism known as Ryōbu-Shintō, or syncretic Buddhism took place, the cult of the mountain-spirits gradually gave place to a Japanized Buddhism, *i. e.*, Shugendō—I mean that the Japanese Shugendō, a mystical shamanism produced by the union of Buddhism with Shintō, was a sort of syncretic popular Buddhistic Shintō. One of its first teachers was En-no-Gyōja or En-no-Shōkaku, who largely influenced

* Skt. *Pañcāśīla*. A pious Buddhist layman (Skt. *upāsaka*) must abstain from taking life, and from theft, impurity, lying, and intoxicating liquors; these Five Rules of Abstinence are called the "*Pañcāśīla*."

** Cf. *Luke* x, 17-21.

† Cf. *Psalms* xci, 1-16.

‡ Cf. *1 Kings* xx, 23, 28, also *11 Kings* vi, 15-17.

the original Japanese belief in the mountain-spirits by introducing into Yamato the syncretic ideas of Ryōbu-Shintō.*

The "honzon" or object of worship, Zaō-Daimyōjin or Kongōzō-ō-Bosatsu (Skt. *Vajragarbha Bodhisattva*) of Mt. Kimbu in the Middle Ages of Japanese history, when Buddhism was supreme, clearly tells its own story, and thus the Zaō-Daigongen came to be enshrined in the Temple Zaō-Dō at the foot of Mt. Kimbu at the village of Yoshinoyama, in Yoshino District, Yamato.

As, after the Restoration in 1868, the Meiji Government strictly forbade the Buddhistic-Shintō amalgamation, the Gods of this mountain Kimbusen were officially announced to be the Shintō deities by the name of Kanayama-Hiko and Kanayama-Himé (sometimes called Konsei-Daimyōjin or Kané-no-Mitaké-no-Kami) with a reference to the Japanese Shintō Bible, *Kojiki*; this is chiefly due to the fact that, according to Japanese fashion, Mount Kimbu is pronounced "Kané-no-Mitaké," or the Mountain of Kané (*Kana*, gold or metal), or Kana-Yama, whence people came to associate the God of Mt. Kimbu with the two Deities, Kanayama-Hiko (prince) and Kanayama-Himé (princess), being obliged by a Government order to publicly announce anew what the god of that mountain is, that is to say, which orthodox Shintō god is worshipped at the shrine of Mt. Kimbu. The shrine is now a Major Village Shrine (Gōsha).

The leading feature of this Oracle of Kimbusen is that the idea expressed therein is approximate to monotheism (or rather henotheism), and it is very easy to recognize that the monotheistic idea in it is the precursor of that contained in the following oracle of the God of Hiraoka, in which the monotheistic tendency is far more clearly displayed.

The following oracle, found in the *Warongo*, of the God of Hiraoka in Kawachi goes a step further, proclaiming the

* Compare the similar case of Mt. Yudono and Mt. Fuji (pp. 34, 35). Besides, as regards Kongōzō-ō-Bosatsu, see the dictionary, *Himitsu Jirin* (p. 369).

worship of one God out of many, and consequently, we can clearly hear in it the voice of monotheism, as, for example :—

" Even though you should worship but one God, yet all other Gods will be pleased. Suppose that you are surrounded by a thousand mirrors, yet, if you stand before any single one of them, your face will be reflected therein, although at the same time, the other nine hundred and ninety-nine mirrors will each reflect your image on its own surface ! Even thus doth one object of worship suffice.

" If you desire to put your trust in more than one God* at the same time, it will surely lead you into the crooked paths of doubt and ruin, and, as a result, you will find yourselves left in the unfathomable bottomless Abyss of Illusion (Skt. *Māyā*), unsaved."

The Shrine of Hiraoka is dedicated to the God Amatsukoyané-no-Mikoto and his consort, together with the Gods Takémikazuchi and Futsunushi and is at Hiraokamura in Kawachi. As to further information, see the note on the Gods worshipped at Kasuga.

By this ingenious illustration, our author appears most probably to have tried to harmonize the monetheistic idea of God with that of polytheism in Shintō, as the term usually conveys the idea.

Exactly the same thought is attributed to a certain Buddhist priest, Gensan, in the *Warongo*, the wording itself being the same except that the word "Buddha" (*hotoke*) is substituted for the word "god" (*kami*), simply on account of the saying being ascribed to the Buddhist monk. This fact, by the way, shows that the *Japanese Analects* is not the work of multitudinous writers, as people are often uncritically inclined to believe, but comes from a single pen.†

Gensan was born in Inaba Province; when young, he entered the Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, and there he learned

* *Joshua* XXIV, 14, 15, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27; *Matthew* VI, 24.

† *Vide* the Introduction, pp. 2-5.

Buddhism. At the age of 45, he founded a monastery on Mt. Hira. He died in 1099 (the 3rd Year of Shōtoku).

CHAPTER XIV

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF SHINRA (SHINRA DAIMYŌJIN)

"If a man be honest and just, neither fire, nor water, nor sword can injure him; even fiends shrink before such a man of complete virtue, and mountains of adamantine rocks would move. Therefore, never stray from the true path of the upright in heart."

Nothing special is known about the God of Shinra (or Shiragi) except that it is a guardian spirit of the Buddhist temple Miidéra at Shiga-Gun, on Lake Biwa, Ōmi. It is probably a God imported into this country from Shiragi (Silla), South Korea. For tradition says that the celebrated Buddhist Enchin, posthumously called Chishō-Daishi, the founder of the Buddhist monastery Miidéra, was guided at sea under the guardianship of this deity on his way home from China in the year 858. Some have identified it with Susanō-no-Mikoto, the brother of Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami, the Sun-Goddess, simply because of a tradition that Susanō-no-Mikoto was banished to Korea in the Divine Age, but this is scarcely more than a conjecture. Anyhow, although the God of Shinra may be of foreign, possibly Korean, origin, it became so completely naturalized in Japan that in the Fujiwara Period (the 11th and 12th centuries of Japanese History) we find, for example, the celebrated warrior, Shinra-Saburō Yoshinitsu worshipping it as his family-guardian god (*ujigami**).

* *I. e.*, the Kami of an Uji (family).

CHAPTER XV

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF MT. MIKAMI (MIKAMI
DAIMYŌJIN)

"God will take pleasure* in him who ever stands firm in the cause of justice and righteousness and does his best to teach other men all over the world the true doctrine of preserving the heart ever honest and upright.** God will recompense that man, and favouring him with world-wide renown, will bestow abundant blessings upon his descendants.

"Although an evil man should, for a short time, lead a happy life.† God will never permit him to enjoy it long, and his descendants will be destroyed forever.‡"

We cannot ascertain exactly who or what God Mikami-Daimyōjin is. He may have some connexion with Mt. Mikami, in Ōmi, which is celebrated because of the legend about a monster-centipede who dwelt in that mountain and caused great trouble to the monster dragon of Seta, in Ōmi. It was eventually killed—shot dead—by Tawara Tōda Hidésato, a skilful archer and warrior of the 10th century.

Some say that the God of Mt. Mikami is a local deity, or one of the *numina loci*, whom Yasu-no-Kokuzō, local Governor, worshipped; others hold that the God is the ancestor of the Governor: others vainly seek to identify this God with one or another of the Buddhist deities; whilst others, again, endeavour to associate him with Izanagi-no-Mikoto of Taga, in the same province of Ōmi.

All these views, however, seem to be equally without any solid, scientific bases, hence we remain in uncertainty as to the real nature and origin of the God of Mt. Mikami. But, one thing is worth noting about the shrine of this God, which stands at

* *Proverbs* xi, 20.** *Proverbs* iv, 23.† *Proverbs* xv, 59.‡ *Proverbs* x, 27, 28, 29, 30; xi, 4-8, 19-21, 31; xii, 7; xiii, 6; xiv, 1

the foot of Mt. Mikami, in Yasu-Gun, Ōmi; namely, that the Shintō priests who serve in it now strictly observe the divine command to avert the wrath of fire, as they were accustomed to do so in ancient times.

The teaching expressed in this oracle is in the main identical with that of the Sun-Goddess, and it appears to me that the idea, "The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness, and the family that accumulates evil is sure to have superabundant misery"* in the *Book of Change* underlies and influences both oracles.

It is said that this oracle, with the omission of certain words, was adopted by Tokugawa Yoshimune, the eighth Shōgun, as one of the maxims to be observed by him in order that he might rightly regulate his own daily life as a shōgun over the Japanese people representing the Mikado.

In the book *Zokudanseigo* which we have already quoted, the oracle is given in the same form as in the Yoshimune version; namely: "God will take pleasure in him who ever stands firm in the cause of justice and righteousness and does his best to teach other men all over the world the true doctrine of preserving the heart ever honest and upright. God will bestow abundant blessings upon his descendants."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF HÉKI (HÉKI DAIMYŌJIN)

"Be upright and honest in heart, all ye My children!
What makes a man immortal? What makes him mortal?
Who is God? And what is man?"

"After all the distinction between the two is not so great as people usually suppose. Get rid of those selfish desires which characterize (your) human nature, then you who are now mortal will become immortal and you will be divine."

* *The Yi King* translated into English by James Legge, S. B. E., vol. XVI, p. 419.

"We are told that two famous Buddhist monks, Myōc-Shōnin (1173-1222) and Gedatsu-Shōnin (1155-1213),* were received in audience by the God of Kasuga; Myōc-Shōnin, being the older disciple, obtained a direct interview with Him face to face; but when Gedatsu, the younger disciple, was received, a bamboo-blind was suspended as a veil between the God and him, so that he could not directly see the face of the God.

"Wherefore? Because, unlike Myōc-Shōnin, Gedatsu-Shōnin not having as yet got rid of his arrogant and selfish nature, this very selfhood, or pride in his own importance (although of scarcely perceptible extent, and notwithstanding, moreover, that in certain respects he was even more learned and virtuous than Myōc-Shōnin) produced of itself the mysterious bamboo-blind, or veil of separation, and thereby made him incapable of directly beholding the holy face of the God of Kasuga.

"So, this bamboo-blind, or rather a supernatural film, was spun entirely out of Gedatsu-Shōnin's own selfish mind inflated with vain pride.

"When enquired of by Myōc-Shōnin, the God of Kasuga, to his great astonishment, revealed this whole truth to Myōc-Shōnin; and having learned this noble lesson from the God, Gedatsu-Shōnin henceforth cultivated the virtue of uprightness with strong determination, and thereby attained to the true Enlightenment, which destroys all the phantasma of selfhood or egoism."†

* Known as Kōben and Jōkyō.

† Cf. *Psalms* XXIV, 3-5; *Hebrews* XXII, 14. In the Sermon on the Mount, we read, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (*Matt.* v, 8).

In a passage in his *Shastkishū*, we find Mujū-Hosshi, a Buddhist monk, saying:—

"The Deity will cover with unseen protection the head of that man who is honest and upright, whilst the Buddha will reveal the holy truth with divine effulgence to the mind of him who is just and pure. So there is nothing which transcends uprightness and purity of heart in order to procure true deity both in this life and hereafter. Thus, in the *Saddharma Pundarika*

We are ignorant as to the author's motive in inserting this episode about the God of Kasuga and the two Buddhist monks in the *Japanese Analects*, for neither of them has any connection with the God of Hêki. Possibly the author intended it as a simple example of the advantage to a man which results from keeping his heart ever pure and honest, and ridding himself of egoism and pride. It is quite clear that the main teaching in this episode attached to the principal oracle of the God of Hêki has a certain connection with that of the God of Kasuga already quoted supra (p. 23), which says: "Emancipate yourselves from all foolish pride and egotism, for even a hair's breadth of this kind of vanity separates you from God as effectually as though by a mass of thick clouds."* Instead of "clouds" we have a "bamboo-hind" in the present oracle, but the fundamental conception is precisely the same, because in both cases the same obstructing veil is meant (although differently worded). This veil separating man from God comes into being from man's own vain selfhood (self-conceit)—the ancient Hindus would say, "âtman, ahanikâra I" Every thoughtful student of the science of religion will readily discern the underlying idea in it, namely, the mysterious Buddhist doctrine of Karma; for, according to that doctrine, whatever is produced in the universe is the result

Sûtra, it is already taught by the Tathâgata, "Blessed are the gentle and upright in heart, for they shall see Me."

Cf. Kern's translation of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarîka Sûtra* (v, 16):—

"But when mild and gentle beings are born in this world of men, they immediately see Me revealing the Law owing to their good works" (S. II K., vol. XXI, p. 300).

Cf. "Child of Buddha, there is not even one living being that has not the wisdom of the Tathâgata. It is only because of their vain thoughts and affections that all beings are not conscious of this.....I will teach them the Holy Way:—

"I will make them forsake their foolish thoughts, and cause them to see that the vast and deep intelligence which dwells within them is not different from the wisdom of the very Buddha" (L. Hearn's *Gleanings in Buddha Fields*, p. 223).

Cf. "The vision of God is productive of Immortality, but Immortality makes us to be next to God" (*Wisdom of Solomon*).

* *Isaiah* I.IX, 2-4.

of Karma (or Māyā, the Buddhist metaphysician might say too), this holds equally true in the case of Gedatsu-Shōnin's "veil" of selfhood.

The same religious fancy has found its indescribably beautiful expression in the Zarathushtrian doctrine; and the *Vendīdād* and the *Yasht* (the sacred books of the Parsees), in a poetic flight of imagination thus describe the fate that attends the righteous soul:—

"The first three nights after death are spent amid the most supreme joys. He is met by his own Conscience in the form of a fair maiden, and reaches Heaven by four steps through the three paradises of Good-thoughts (Hūmat Paradise), Good-words (Hukht Paradise), and Good-Deeds (Hvarsht Paradise), where he is praised and glorified by the supreme God, Ahura Mazda, and fed with ambrosia.

"At the head of the Cinvat Bridge, the holy bridge made by Ahura Mazda, they ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave away here below.* Then comes the well-shapen and tall maid,.....she makes the soul of the righteous one go up above the Haraberezaiti; above the Cinvat Bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves. Up rises Vohu-mano from his golden seat; Vohu-mano exclaims: 'How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one? Gladly pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of Amesha-spentas (Good Spirits), to the Garōnmanem, the abode of Ahura-Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings' (*Vendīdād*, *Fargard*, XIX, 29-32. S. B. F., vol. IV, pp. 212-214).

"The Soul of the faithful one addressed her, asking: 'What maid art thou, who art the fairest maid I have ever seen?' And she, being his own conscience, answers him: 'O

* Cf. Mark X, 23-30.

thou youth of Good-thoughts, Good-words, and Good-deeds, of Good Religion! I am thy own conscience !'

"The first step that the soul of the faithful man made, placed him in the Good-thought Paradise; the second step... placed him in the Good-word Paradise; the third step..... placed him in the Good-deed Paradise; the fourth step..... placed him in the Endless Light (the seat of the Garôthmān)... Ahura Mazda answered:.....' (Let him eat) of the food brought to him, of the oil (butter) of Zaremaya (spring): this is the food for the youth of Good-thoughts, of Good-words, of Good-religion, after he has departed this life; this is the food for the holy woman, rich in Good-thoughts, Good-words, Good-deeds, well-principled and obedient to her husband, after she has departed this life'" (*Yasht*, XXII, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18. S. D. E., vol. XIII, pp. 316-318).

Singularly enough, a book of Japanese history called "Réi-i-ki" mentions a similar incident which is said to have occurred in Hades. In the reign (697-707) of the Emperor Mommu, a man named Kashiwadé-no-Omi Hirokuni died, and descended into Hades. After showing him the dread sights of the Inferno, Emma-Ō (Skt. *Yama*), the King of Death, gave Hirokuni leave to return safely to the upper world, as a reward for his special merits and virtue in his earthly life. Whereupon, the man, highly gratified, flew back to the Gate of Hades, but, alas! the gate-keeper refused to let him pass. Then, a blooming youth (the Japanese Hebe), chancing to appear, spake to the porter in Hirokuni's behalf, with heartfelt sympathy, and bade him not to detain the man, but to allow him to go through the infernal gate. Thus did Hirokuni narrowly escape the torments of the infernal regions and was restored to the upper world. When Hirokuni asked his identity, the fair youth replied: "Do you not recognize that I am the very same beautiful copy of the *Kannon-Gyō* (Skt. *Avalokiteśvara Sūtra*) which you yourself wrote when you were a young boy?"

A similar incident is related in the book called *Fusōryakki*

referring to the Hokkekenki and in a medieval Japanese Ode composed in the hey-day of Buddhism in Japan :—

“ The only guide to trust
To lead us to the Paradise
Wherein the Buddha dwells,
Is in ourselves,—
The true and upright Heart.”

Another popular song of the 12th century says :—

“ The Buddha once was but a man ;—
We men shall sometime Buddhas be,
How grievous are the barrier-walls,
That now divide the souls of men,
Who all, in essence, are but one
In primal Buddhahood.”

Similarly, a Buddhist monk of the same century, Mujū-Hosshi, stated the same Buddhist truth in another way ; thus he said :—

“ Human nature is mixed up with selfishness and self-deception, whereas, Buddhahood is that essential Knowledge (namely, Enlightenment) and Virtue which confer Immortality. By abandoning selfishness and self-deception mortal man may attain to Buddhahood (the Buddha Absolute) and thus become immortal.

“ In his true essence man is divine, and by his birth-right possesses Buddha's nature latent in him. But the barrier which separates him here on earth from Heaven is simply and solely that blinding veil which results from his own self-deceiving egoism” (*Shasikishū*, vol. VII, a).

Notwithstanding, however, its beautiful moral teaching, the story ascribed to the two Buddhist monks, Myōe-Shōnin and Gedatsu-Shōnin, is not real history, but a legendary production of faith, or rather an allegory, such as all religions employ in

* *Isaiah* LIX, 2, 3-5 ; *James* 1, 21-27.

order to convey heavenly truths to the simple-minded by means of an earthly story.

It is highly probable that the author of the *Japanese Analects* may have got the suggestion of this description of the allegory from the *Shasikishū* (vol. I, p. 15).

It is true that Gedatsu-Shōnin had a direct communion with the God of Kasuga, because, a tradition says, that all the gazelles in Kasuga Park in Nara bowed before Gedatsu-Shōnin like domesticated animals, and according to another tradition when this monk went to worship at the sacred shrine, the God of Kasuga visited Gedatsu-Shōnin's monastery in person, and stayed there a while to listen to the Buddhist Saint's preaching of the Buddha's religion.

We may compare the story of Myōō-Shōnin with that related of the Empress Kenrei-Monin, Tokuko by name, who, having desired that a certain Buddhist ceremony of initiation should be performed by Myōō-Shōnin, took a higher seat than his behind a bamboo screen which was suspended between them. But Myōō-Shōnin refused to conduct the office on these conditions, rejecting Her Majesty's proposal on the ground that the true Buddhist monk who guides his life in accordance with the Master's Precepts (Skt. *śīla*) will never accept a seat below his disciples, although they be government dignitaries—he will never make a salute even to any gods (Jap. *kami*, Skt. *devās*) who rank under the Buddha according to the Buddhist idea. This is what the Buddhist Sūtras command the monks. It is possible that the above account of Myōō-Shōnin and his imperial disciple was handed down in such an altered form as it appeared in the *Japanese Analects*; but this is simply my conjecture.

Although Papinot's Dictionary mentions Myōō-Shōnin, otherwise named Kōben, as a propagator of Ryōbu Shintō (syncretic or dual Shintō), it is silent about Gedatsu-Shōnin, who is as noble and virtuous as Myōō-Shōnin in his moral and religious character as well as in profound scholarship in

Buddhist doctrines. Gedatsu-Shōnin belonged to the Kegon sect.*

Although the shrine of the God of Heki still exists in Iga Province, nothing is known for certain about it, not even the actual name of the God.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ORACLE OF SENGEN DAIMYŌJIN

"Hearken all ye, My people! Emancipate yourselves from evil thoughts and earthly desires! Nay, more, ascend high up into that Heavenly sphere where the distinction between the subject and the object of our knowledge is lost, and consequently, mind is no longer mind, thought ceases to be thought; then, indeed, you mortals become immortal; but, if you act otherwise, you will deprive yourselves of the godlike dignity of man which (from time immemorial) is inherent in you,** and the world will never discover in you anything better than the nature of the lower animal, although you may flatter yourselves by imagining that you men are the crown of all created beings. I, the Kami, cannot bear to see men like you becoming depraved!"

Saka Shibutsu says:—

"In order to worship acceptably at the Shrine of the Sun-Goddess at Isé, the first essential is purity of heart.† Neither prayer, nor petition, nor offering is requisite from that man, who desires above all else to obtain the Divine favour. Heart-purity is called "Inner purity."‡

"To rid oneself of external pollution, laving one's body

* The reader may profitably consult the two Buddhist biographical works *Genkōshakusho* (vol. v) and *Honchō-Kōden* (vol. i).

** *Proverbs* XXIV, 9; XII, 5; XIV, 26.

† *Matthew* v, 8.

‡ *Matthew* xv, 19, 20; Compare *Proverbs* XXIII, 7.

with streams of lustral water, is called "Outward purity."* When a man is pure both in body and mind, there is little difference between the human and the divine mind, the one being the counterpart of the other. Such a mortal at once becomes immortal.

"Then any kind of prayer, which is in reality a petition, more or less characterized by a mercenary spirit† towards his God vanishes; for, how can such a prayer be possible where there already exists a complete unity between the human and the divine soul?

"This is the true meaning of 'Worshipping at the Grand Shrine of Isé.'

"When told all this, I was filled with the devotion of an endless gratitude and reverential rapture and could not help bursting into tears with immense joy and awe."

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF TAMASAKI (TAMASAKI DAIMYŌJIN)

"All ye, my people! Live in and by Reason, and depart not from it. Whenever you depart from it, you act against the will of God. What then is Reason? It is, indeed, Heaven and Earth; nay, it is God Himself."

The shrine of this Deity at Ichinomiya, a village in Nagaragun, Kazusa, is now a National Shrine of the Second Grade. Who the Deity is, is open to question, and the different explanations already suggested are mere conjectures. Some are of opinion that the Deity is Tamasaki-no-Mikoto, the

* *Psalms* xxvi, 6. In the Anglican Prayer Book there is a beautiful prayer, "Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by inspiration of Thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love Thee and worthily magnify Thy Holy Name.

† Cf. *Luke* vi, 35; also *Micah* vi, 6-8.

grandson of Takamimusubi-no-Kami, whilst others say that the Deity is the famous Dragon-Goddess, Tamayori-Himé, the daughter of the Sea-God.

Nothing certain is known about the Deity, but it is highly probable that she was one of the local goddesses presiding over the districts near the sea-shore, popularly known as the "Kujūkuri-no-Hama," or "Beach of Ninety-nine *Ri*"* in length.

The underlying thought in this oracle re-iterates exactly what is expressed in the preceding oracles as given by the other gods or goddesses and quoted by the author of the *Japanese Analects* which are all strongly tinged with Buddhist as well as Confucian ideas.

The above oracle is found with slight alterations in the work *Zokudanseigo*.

We are further told that Yoshimuné, the eighth Tokugawa Shōgun, adopted this oracle as an ethical maxim which offered wise guidance for regulating his daily life.

Compare the above oracle with the idea of Emerson :—

"It is not mine or thine or his, but we are its; we are its property and men. And the blue sky in which the private earth is buried, the sky with its eternal calm, and full of everlasting orbs, is the type of Reason. That which, intellectually, we call Reason, considered in relation to Nature, we call Spirit. Spirit hath life in itself, and man, in all ages and countries, embodies it in his language, as the Father" (Clay MacCauley, *The Faith of the Incarnation*, p. 378).

* The ordinary Japanese *ri* is, as a rule, a little over two English miles, but in this case, "a *ri*" is a little shorter than half a mile.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF KATORI (KATORI DAINYŌJIN)

"That the God dislikes what is unclean, is equivalent to saying that a person who is impure in heart displeases God.

"He that is honest and upright in heart is not unclean, even though he be not ceremoniously so in body.

"To God, inward purity is all important; mere external cleanliness avails not. This is because God is the Essential Uprightness and Honesty, and therefore, it is His Heavenly Ordinance that we should lead an honest and happy life in harmony with the Divine Will.

"If a man is pure in heart, rest assured that he will ever feel the Divine Presence with him, and possess the immediate sense of the Divine within him."

The shrine at Katori-Machi, in Katori-Gun, Shimōsa, is now a Government Shrine of the First Grade.

The God Futsunushi-no-Mikoto, otherwise called Iwainushi-no-Mikoto, is a genial apparition, like Takémikazuchi-no-Mikoto, for, when the Heavenly Deities sent expeditions to the province of Izumo, Futsuno-Mitama, the Divine Sword of Takémikazuchi, seems to have had some connection with this God.

According to some of the *Nihongi* traditions, the God Futsunushi sprang from some drops of the Fire-God Kagutsuchi's blood when the God Izanagi slew him.

Strange to say, there is no allusion to this God Futsunushi in the *Kojiki* traditions, although, in the *Nihongi* traditions, he played so great a rôle. Such being the case, some scholars are inclined to think that Futsunushi is simply another name for the God Takémikazuchi, and even go so far as to say that Futsunushi is only the personification of the Divine Sword of Takémikazuchi.

Be that as it may, the shrine dedicated to Futsunushi was, and is as highly revered as that of Takémikazuchi which

stands near it on the opposite bank of the famous Toné River, and, we further find that both shrines are constantly consecrated side by side and in one and the same compounds, as, for example, the Kasuga Shrine at Nara, or that of Kashima in the Province of Hitachi.

The reader will easily see to what an extent the original Nature-God Futsunushi of the *Nihongi* was highly moralized and even, more or less, spiritualized in our Oracle.

CHAPTER XX

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF WAKASA (WAKASAHIKO DAIMYŌJIN)

"What is the Upright Heart,
The guide of Human Life?
'Tis neither more, nor is it less,
Than the Divine Itself."

It is said that Prince Atsumi, a son of the Emperor Uda (889—897) received the above inspiration in a dream. Some historians maintain that there is every reason to doubt that, historically considered, the imperial prince has any connection with the above-mentioned God.

The shrine consecrated to the God Wakasahiko is generally known as "O-nyū-Jinja" and is situated at O-nyū Village, in O-nyū-Gun, Wakasa.

The God is not actually one, but two Gods in one, i. e., the male God Wakasa-Hiko and his consort Wakasa-Himé.

Some historians tried to identify these two Gods respectively with Hikohohodemi-no-Mikoto and Toyotama-Himé but that is a mere conjecture. Wakasa-Hiko and Wakasa-Himé were probably the ancestral male and female Gods of the locality.

CHAPTER XXI

THE ORACLE OF THE GODDESS OF NOTO
(NOTO-HIMÉ DAIMYÔJIN)

" Upright in mind, accordant with the Will
Revealed in Heaven, and o'er all the Earth :—
The man who thus directs his life,
Thereby declares himself divine."

(" Tradition says that the above Oracle was revealed
in a verse to the Emperor Seiwa* whilst His Majesty
slumbered.")

The sanctuary now in existence at Notobé Village in
Kashima-Gun has been a Major Village Shrine since the 14th
Year of Meiji.

Many attempts have been made to identify the Goddess
Noto-Himé, but, so far, without success.

CHAPTER XXII

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF ŌHATA (ŌHATA DAIMYÔJIN)

" The pure in heart have gained such power
That they can serve the Will
Of Heaven's Shining One
And therewith guide their lives.
" O ye fools! Why go astray
Led by such alien creeds
As those of Kōshi† or the Buddha?
Why wander from the Will of Heaven,—
The Ancient Teachings granted to this Land? "

So far we are unable to identify this Deity.

In the Dai-Nihon-shi, or *Complete History of Japan* chiefly

* 859-876.

† I. e., Confucius.

compiled* under the auspices of a famous daimyō (feudal lord) of Mito, in the Tokugawa Period, the real name of the God is not given.

By some, although not very convincingly, this God is identified with Ōmatanushi-no-Kami.

The shrine at Ōkura, in Sotokaifu Village, Sado-Gun, one part of which was formerly called Kamo-Gun of Niigata Prefecture, is now a prefectural shrine.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF AWAKA (AWAKA DAIMYŌJIN)

"Behold the azure sky,
The mighty vault of blue o'er all;
While here the softly blowing breeze
Swaying the myriad pine-wood leaves
Plays Nature's own sweet airs,
In Nature, God's full glory shines."

The shrine is at Awaka Village in Asago-Gun, Tajima Province. As to what god (or gods) was here actually worshipped, native scholars do not quite agree. However, according to the opinion entertained by some scholars, it is probable that the god is the Goddess Awaka-Himé, the divine sister of the Great God of Iwa of the *Harimafudoki*, or *Topography* of Harima, who is known as Ōkuninushi-no-kami, a well-known culture-god in the Divine Age in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*. The Goddess Awaka-Himé has gained no widespread popularity, though the name of the goddess is often mentioned in some of the old historical books in Japan.

* The work of compilation began more than two hundred years ago.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF UBÉ (UBÉ-DAIMYŌJIN)
TOGETHER WITH THE SAYING OF THE
BUDDHIST PRIEST NIN-I

"The heart of a man is the abode of God; think not that God is anything distant. He that is honest, is himself a Kami (God), and if merciful, he is himself a Hotoké (Buddha). Know that man in his essential nature is one and the same with the Kami or Hotoké."

The shrine of this God is at Kokufu Village in Homi-Gun, Inaba.

According to a tradition, the God is the famous Takéno-uehi-no-Sukuné, who is connected with Jingō-Kōgō and the Emperor Ōjin of whom the War-God Hachiman is the apotheosis, but this is considered by some scholars as highly improbable.

As a matter of fact, however, the origin of the God in whose honour the shrine is raised, is now utterly forgotten.

In Muro Kyūso's* *Sundaisatsurwa* (vol. 1), we find the same idea. It is translated into English by Aston, in his *History of Japanese Literature* (p. 264).

In this Oracle we find the climax of the essential underlying unity between Shintō and Buddhist teachings. Compare with it the following Buddhist declaration:—

"The Buddha, man, and the mind are only three different manifestations of one and the same Essence, so that the true nature of each individual unit differs not at all from that of the entire Three."

If we change this word "mind" for the term "God" we can readily grasp the thought expressed in the Oracle of the God of Ubé, where the fundamental idea is taken for granted, it being a well-established truth, that the Divine (which is essential Uprightness and Loving-kindness) is, after all in its true essence, one and the same with that devout person

* 1658-1734.

whose upright heart, filled with compassion and mercy*, is justly called an "abode of God," an expression which means neither more nor less than the Divine Itself.

Also compare the underlying idea of this oracle with St. Paul's question: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God?"† (1 Cor. iii, 16).

Now compare this Oracle with the following saying ascribed to the Buddhist monk Nin-i (d. 1410) in the *Japanese Analects*.

"Although a man be too weak in his character to strictly observe every detail of the Buddhist moral law, yet if he is kind-hearted and full of benevolence he cannot be left unsaved.

"But if he be destitute of one single virtue, namely, benevolence, although he keep all the moral precepts of the Buddha, he will fail to attain the true perfection of Buddhahood.

"Where a heart is filled with benevolence, there we shall find the Buddha realized in that man; and where a mind is uprightness itself, there is a kami (god)—this is the Ancient Teaching.

"Therefore have mercy upon all living beings, and preach the Way (Religion).

"Although a monk with tonsured head be clad in a black priestly robe, yet if he cleaves to worldly fame and earthly desires, he is more guilty than those who commit a capital crime, like regicide or parricide."

CHAPTER XXV

THE DIVINE ORACLE FROM THE GRAND SHRINE AT KITSUKI

"If, through the fascinating influences of the foreign civilization, men fail to observe even the least of the Laws of this Divine Kingdom, they act contrary to the commands of the

* Cf. *Micah* vi, 8; vii, 2.

† Cf. *Jeremiah* vii, 4.

national gods, and therefore I will send some of My divine messengers to annihilate such infidels.

"Neither will I grant the prayers of any who do not come and worship Me before all other gods."*

The Taisha, or Grand Shrine, is at Kitsuki-Machi in Hikawa-Gun, Izumo. Dedicated to the God, or rather, the culture-hero Ōkuninushi-no-Kami of Izumo, this is the first and most ancient of all the shrines in Japan.

According to one tradition Ōkuninushi-no-Kami was the son of Susanō, the brother of the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami; but according to another, he is a descendant of Susanō, some generations later.

As culture-hero, Ōkuninushi-no-Kami travelled all over Izumio in order to promote the general culture of that district.

Ōkuninushi-no-Kami is renowned not only for his valour in subduing all his enemies, but also for his tender-hearted, charitable character.

On one occasion, it is said that, in the kindness of his heart, he even taught a wounded hare how to obtain relief from its suffering.

Ōkuninushi-no-Kami is the first culture-god, prior to the descent of the Heavenly Grandson of the Sun-Goddess, under whose sovereignty the Izumo territories were completely ruled.

To this day, all the gods in Japan repair yearly to the Izumo Taisha (Grand Shrine) to render homage to Ōkuninushi-no-Kami in the Tenth Month (roughly November), which on this account is known as the "Kaminazuki," *i. e.*, "the month without the gods." This expression simply means that the gods are all absent from their home-shrines on a visit to Izumo.

Hirata advanced another explanation regarding the meaning of "Kaminazuki," which is somewhat plausible, namely, that "Kaminashizuki" or "Kannazuki" is "Kaminamē-

* Cf. the first and second of the "Ten Commandments" delivered by God to Moses (Exodus xx, 1-6).

zuki " (divine tasting-month), *i. e.*, the month of the Harvest Festival or Feast of Ingathering.*

This fact shows how universally the sovereign power of Ōkuninushi-no-Kami was acknowledged before he resigned this world of Izumo to the Divine Grandson and retired into that "hidden world."

The Taisha or Grand Shrine of Izumo is a second Isé in Japan, and is now a Government Shrine of the First Grade.

In this Shintō Oracle, we can easily perceive a trace of national religion, for the character of the oracle-giving God closely approximated to that of the Hebrew Yahweh, who is a jealous god and forbids men to serve any other gods.

Thus, like the Israelite religion before the prophets of the Exilic Era in Babylon, Shintō is sometimes characterized by its national, or tribal feeling.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD HACHIMAN (SHŌ-HACHIMAN) OF KI-I PROVINCE

"People always feel uneasy, because they foolishly worry about the welfare of their family and of themselves. This is the real cause of suffering or sin here on earth. Happy are they who are free from these mental fetters and this uneasiness of heart; for, they enjoy ecstatic beatitude in meditation, under the unseen protection of the heavenly Gods. Indeed the Gods will favour and protect those who with well-balanced tranquil minds lead lives of religious meditation, as they hold the Buddhist teaching on meditation to be the noblest and most profound of all that was taught by the Buddha."

It is hardly possible to locate the site of the shrine of the God Shō-Hachiman, as far as our present knowledge goes.

* Isaiah IX, 3.

However, what is called the Takahashi Shrine, a minor village shrine, at Iwahashi in Kaisō-Gun, Ki-i, may be that of the God Shō-Hachiman, judging from the accounts of both shrines given in the books entitled *Nankijinjaroku* and *Wakayama-kenshi*.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ORACLE OF THE SEA-GOD, WATATSUMI DAIMYŌJIN,
TOGETHER WITH THE SAYINGS OF URABĒ KANĒTOMO,
FUJIWARA KANĒTAKA, AND THE BUDDHIST
PRIEST JIKI

"Not only in Japan doth one and the same Japanese God of Heaven manifest Himself in different forms but also in many other lands.*

"In India He was born as the Buddha Gautama, the Supremely Enlightened One, who was the Great Teacher, the Revealer of the True Religion, and the Superior Leader of all beings, whether gods or men, in the Three Worlds.

"In China, the three Sages, Kung Futsze, Laotze, and Yen-Hui, were neither more nor less than our own Kami (Shintō God) Himself.

"You may ask: Why does one and the same God assume such varied forms? It is simply because, being one and the same God, He desires to preach the selfsame truth, and therefore He takes forms differing only in appearance from each other, so that He may best adapt His teaching to the understanding of every man.

"Ponder this providential educative tactfulness and live in quiet accordance with the Law of Righteousness prescribed by our national Gods."

The Shrine erected in honour of the God at Tarui

Cf. Hebrews 1, 1.

Village in Akashi-Gun, Harima, is a Government Shrine of the Second Grade.

In it we find a divine triad consisting of Sokotsuwatatsumi (Possessor of the Ocean-Bottom), Nakatsuwatatsumi (Possessor of the Ocean Middle), Uwatsuwatatsumi (Possessor of the Ocean Surface), as a parallel to the divine triad of Suminoé (Uwazutsu-no-Ō, Nakazutsu-no-Ō, and Sokozutsu-no-Ō).

According to the *Kojiki* tradition, the above-mentioned three sea-gods were born when Izanagi (the Male-Who-Invites) purified and cleansed Himself at the mouth of a small river near Tachibana in Hyūga, when He returned to the upper-world from the hideous pollution of the under-world. This is the reason why since the medieval ages of Japan, these gods have also been called Hyūga-no-Daimyōjin.

Almost the same endeavour to reconcile the three teachings of Shintō, Buddha, and Confucius is made in various parts of the *Japanese Analects*, particularly in a passage ascribed to Fujiwara Kanetomo (1435-1511),* which in the *Japanese Analects* runs as follows :—

“ Our selfsame Kami manifests Himself in various forms, and in different regions,—sometimes in the highest Heaven† —sometimes in the lowest Hell, to reveal the True Way to all mankind, and bring universal salvation into the world. Thus, in ancient India, Śakyamuni was our own Kami Incarnate, preaching the religion of universal benevolence founded upon that doctrine of Karma,‡ which is inseparably connected with the moral life of the Hindoos.

* Popularly known as Urabé (or Yoshida) Kanetomo.

† The region which transcends both consciousness and unconsciousness, i. e., naivasanjñā-nāśanjñā in Sanskrit.

‡ Karma (the Japanese “gū”) simply means “action” or “deed.” But, as a religious technical term, the word is of prime importance. The doctrine of Karma, or efficacy of good and bad works, is inseparably bound up with what is popularly known as the transmigration of the soul (or strictly speaking, in the Buddhistic sense of the term, the transmission of individual character) or a renewed existence, that is to say, the present condition of every sentient being is determined by his actions in a previous life, as his future will depend on the works done in this life.

"In ancient China, the Confucian teachings, consisting chiefly of humanity and justice, are to be considered as an adaptation or a disguise of our Shintō or the Way of the Kami to a foreign soil as seen from the standpoint of us Japanese.

"Thus the teaching of our Kami has spread all over the Four Regions,* whilst their original home is, no doubt, in this country.

"Thus viewed, the introduction of Confucianism and Buddhism in olden days is not to be understood as something utterly new and foreign imported then for the first time into Japan, but as the revival of the ancient Shintō teachings disguised in the form of Buddhism and Confucianism which, having penetrated into foreign lands (India and China) from their original home in Japan, had returned hither in a quickened form.

"Such being the case, Shintō, Buddhism, and Confucianism do not so widely differ as people often imagine. They are actually one and the same truth revealed by one and the same Kami of Japan.

"Nevertheless, Shintō may well claim a preëminent position over the other two foreign doctrines, because it is indigenous to the soil of the Rising-Sun Land; hence Shintō worshippers rank higher in the sight of the Shintō gods of Japan than the Buddhist monks or Confucianists. When the genuine original Shintō Religion is at our disposal, should we desire its modifications or humble variations, namely, Buddhism and Confucianism?

"However, as I have already stated, Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism are teachings different only to their disadvantage in form, in spirit they are one, and yet, to our regret, some Shintō scholars, utterly disregarding this fact, are recklessly hostile to Buddhism and Confucianism, thus only displaying

* Jambu-dvīpa (the Southern Region), Aparavodāva (the Western Region), Uttarakuru (the Northern Region), and Pūrva-videha (the Eastern Region).

their own ignorance of the boundless comprehensiveness of our, Shintō.*

In a somewhat similar reconciling spirit, Nissen (*d.* 1714) the Buddhist priest of the Nichiren sect, states the same truth, thus :—

“ As root and branch and leaf and flower
All spring from just one seed :
So Buddha's, Kōshi's, and the Way Divine,
Are but three manifested forms,
Of an essential One,
The Buddha Absolute.”

Fujiwara Kanētaka† (1553-1636) of the Warongo also says:—

“ We should not fail to welcome any strangers, whether Buddhists from India or Confucianists from China, who come and show homage to our Divine Kingdom. For they are all actually offshoots of one and the same tree of our Shintō or the Way of the National Gods. Each foreign doctrine represents a different aspect of the selfsame truth of Shintō in its own country, accommodated to its own circumstances. Should any one think otherwise, it is because of his entire ignorance of the vast comprehensiveness of our Shintō.”

In the same harmonizing spirit, the Buddhist priest Jiki of the Warongo also says:—

“ In this country, the Confucianists are, as a rule, anti-Buddhists, and the Buddhists anti-Confucianists. In my opinion, however, either party is equally wrong, because the spirit of them is one and the same, the only difference between them being in the mode of expressing the same fundamental truth.

“ In other words, the chief aim of either school is the attainment of the highest good as against moral evil, and it is

* Cf. the Oracle of the War-God of Kashima and its notes.

† The author of the *Japanese Analects* put 1604 (the 9:th year of Keichō) for his death year by some mistake or other, which was in fact the year of his retirement from his courtier-life to the Buddhist cloister.

just in this fact that we find the complete reconciliation and final agreement between the two schools of thought."

Jiki of the Tendai sect was a son of Takatsukasa Kanéhira, who, in 1293 (the 1st year of Ni-nin) was ordained Superintendent Abbot of the Enryaku-Ji on Mt. Hiei in the Province of Ōmi.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ORACLE OF THE GODDESS OF ITSUKUSHIMA (ITSUKUSHIMA-DAIMYŌJIN)

"Of old the people in this land were ignorant of Me; hence they are now reborn in the world of misery. In Heaven I am the Deity of the sun; in the central celestial region I am the Goddess of Music,* and hidden in the Mother Earth, I am the Producer of all things. In the depth of the sea I have revealed Myself as the Eight Dragon Kings,** ruling the world with virtuous power. If the poor and suffering come and pray to Me, I will not fail to grant their desires† in one, two, or three weeks, or in three or seven years, according to what kind of persons they are and to the prayers they offer. Notwithstanding that I am often reluctant to grant the prayers of the unjust, yet I surely do so because I am the very Embodiment of universal, unconditioned Loving Kindness.

Indeed, Itsukushima,‡ Ama-no-Hashidatē (or literally

* *I. e.*, a Hindoo Muse, Sarasvatī by name, otherwise called the Goddess of Sweet Music. Aston made a serious mistake in translating this part of the original text, and put "I show my doings" for the "Goddess of Music," or literally, the "Goddess of voice or sound." See Aston, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, p. 372.

** The Eight Dragon Kings are Nanda, Upananda, Sāgara, Vāsukināgarāja, Takshaka, Anavalapta, Manasvi, and Utpalaka.

† Cf. Isaiah XLII, 17.

‡ Itsukushima, or Miyajima, in the Inland Sea is widely known amongst foreign tourists in Japan, because of its natural beauties and the uniquely picturesque shrine on the islet built on piles jutting out into the sea.

"Bridge of Heaven") and Matsushima (or "Pine-clad Isles") are the three most beautiful scenes (or "Scenic Trio") in Japan.

The shrine, before which a magnificent camphorwood *torii* (sacred gate-way) of deep vermilion color rises high above the waves at some distance from the land, is at Itsukushima-Machi in Saeki-Gun, Aki. It is dedicated to the Goddess Ichikishima-Himé, otherwise named Sayorihimé-no-Mikoto, and is now a Government Shrine of the Second Grade.

According to the *Kojiki* tradition, Ichikishima-Himé was born from the Sun-Goddess Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami and her Brother Susanō-no-Mikoto, "by an oath or covenant" between them. She forms a triad with the other deities of similar birth, the latter being called Tagirihimé-no-Mikoto, or Okitsushimahimé-no-Mikoto, and Tagitsu-himé-no-Mikoto respectively.* What is meant by the expression "To give birth to a child by oath," the two male and female deities simply standing face to face? Hirata's explanation of the word "ukéhi" (oath) in his famous work *Koshiden, Exposition of the Ancient Histories*, vol. VII, p. 44 (in his collected works, vol. VII) is not satisfactory; compare our *Kojiki* passage describing the giving birth to the five male gods and three female goddesses with the following idea expounded in the Indian Buddhist patriarch Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-Kośa-Śāstra*. "Some divine spirits (devas) produce children in coition exactly in the same manner as human beings do. But some deities of a higher rank, but of male and female sex, simply have an interview, and thereby produce children."

After the Amalgamation of Shintō with Buddhism the Goddess of Itsukushima was identified with the Hindoo Goddess Sarasvati, called "Benzaiten" in Japan, who also presides over Lake Biwa in Ōmi Province. The fame of the Goddess of Itsukushima was not so widely spread before the rise of the powerful Taira family. When Taira-no-Kiyomori (1118-1181)

* Vide B. H. Chamberlain's translation of the *Kojiki*, p. 47.

visited this shrine and worshipped there, keen public attention was attracted, and in 1174 the Ex-emperor Goshirakawa, and in 1180 the Ex-Emperor Takakura were pleased to honour the site with their own presence. From that time forward, the shrine has been one of the chief goals of Shintō pilgrimage.

Tinged as it was with Buddhism, instead of the sweet offering of the Buddhist Law (Dharma) many fish were offered with a certain apology consistent with the Buddhist ideas of religious morality, and this fact betrays the nature-worship origin of the Goddess Ichikishima-Himé. Moreover, that a woman who has given birth to a child anew is considered a physical pollution, not a moral one, is another instance (like that of the Suwa Shrine in Shinano) of the natural religion of the ancient Shintō,—a feature which it shares in common with the Mosaic Code.

Death also is a pollution; hence on this holy island until quite recently neither births nor deaths were allowed; and no dogs were permitted. The sacred deer of Itsukushima, like those attached to the Shintō Shrine of Kasuga at Nara, are wellknown to foreign tourists in Japan.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD ŌYAMATSUMI (ŌYAMATSUMI-DAIMYŌJIN)

"Our Sun-Goddess—that is to say, or broadly speaking, all our Shintō gods without exception—is believed to manifest Herself as Sūrya (the Hindoo God of the sun), or Mahāvairocana (the All-Illuminating) in the Buddhist teaching.

"The same Sun-Goddess, however, also manifests Herself in the form of the Dragon-God of the sea, who is ready to grant any petition made by any creature in all the Three Worlds.*

* *Vide* the note on page 19.

"Even the followers of Sākyamuni should not fail to pay due homage to the Sun-Goddess. This is because all things in the Universe, Heaven and Earth included, are after all but different manifestations of the One Supreme Being (Kamī)."

This is now a National Shrine of the Second Grade dedicated to the God Ōyamatsuni or Great-Mountain-Possessor* (*i. e.*, Great Possessor of the Mountains).

This God is worshipped under the name of Mishima Daimyōjin, at Miyaura Village in Ōchi-Gun, Iyo.

According to the *Kojiki* tradition,** He was born to the divine couple, Izanagi and Izanami, after their marriage; whilst one of the *Nihongi* traditions relates that the head of the Fire-God, Kagutsuchi, Fire-Shining-Elder, was transformed into a god named Ōyamatsumi, when the former, *l'enfant terrible*, was slain by his divine father Izanagi.

Another tradition handed down to us through the *Topography*† of the Province of Iyo says that the Mountain-God is not of Japanese origin, but was introduced into this country from Korea in the reign of the Emperor Nintoku.

Besides this Ōyamatsuni, we have another local deity of the same name, who heartily welcomed the Heavenly Grandson Ninigi-no-Mikoto at Kyūshū with His two daughters Iwanaga-Himé and Konohana-no-Sakuya-Himé, the latter of whom was bestowed on the heavenly guest as his consort.‡

We are not quite clear as to whether the two above-named Ōyamatsumi are not actually one and the same divinity, which seems to be more than likely.

The Ōyamatsuni of Iyo is a tutelary god of the Kōno family who at that time were the hereditary local governors of the district, and tradition says that the wife of Kōno Chika-

* So rendered by B. H. Chamberlain, or we might better name it the Great Mountain Spirit, or the Great Spirit of the Mountain. The Hon. Mrs. Gordon tells us that this God, or one akin to Him, she frequently met with on her recent journey in Korea.

** B. H. Chamberlain, English translation of the *Kojiki*, p. 29.

† *Shaku-nihongi*, vol. vii.

‡ W. G. Aston, English translation of the *Nihongi*, vol. 1, p. 85.

kiyo, mourning her sterility like Abraham and his wife Sarah, (GEN. xv, 2), complained to the God and begged Him to favour her with a son.

'One dark night whilst she was thus praying at the shrine of Ōyamatsumi, her ancestral God, the God manifested Himself to her in the form of a monstrous huge serpent, and lying down with her overnight. Then in due process of time she was delivered of a son whom she named Kōno Michikiyo.*

Eventually, this Nature-God of the mountains, Ōyamatsumi, was elevated to the rank of a God in ethical religion, so that animal sacrifices to Him were entirely abolished. This was brought about chiefly through the influence of a Buddhist saint called Ippen (1229-1289), who was also one of the Kōno family.

Ippen taught that noble precept of the Buddhist Universal Benevolence, which commands us not to kill any living being, and gradually the Mountain-God became identified with the Buddhist Celestial Deity Daitsūchishō-Butsu (Skt. *Mahāvijñāṇa-nabhibhū*) mentioned in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra (Hokkyō), the word simply signifying "All-Wise-and-All-Perfect."†

Moreover owing to the fact that mountains are the fountain-heads of all waters, this Mountain-God Ōyamatsumi seems also to have become identified with the Buddhist Dragon-God (Ryū-ō) of the deep.

* Chikakiyo was a son of Minamoto Yoriyoshi, and adopted by Kōno Chikatsuné, whose only daughter became his wife.

Cf. G. A. Barren, *Religions of the World*, p. 30.

† *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, S.B.E., vol. XXI, p. 153.

CHAPTER XXX

THE ORACLE OF THE GOD OF KAGOSHIMA
(KAGOSHIMA DAINYŌJIN)

"A man's Sincerity will enable him to accomplish all kinds of things, but he is sure to fail in life, if he be deficient in that virtue. This is because Sincerity is Heaven and Earth, nay, more, it is God Himself."

The shrine of the God at Kokubu Village in Aira-Gun, Ōsuni, now a Government Shrine of the First Grade, was dedicated to Hikohohodémi-no-Mikoto, the son of Amatsuhiko-Hikohono-Ninigi-no-Mikoto and therefore the great grandson of the Sun-Goddess, Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami. Later on the same shrine was consecrated to the memory of the Emperors Chū-ai, Ojin, and Nintoku together with the Empress Jingō-Kōgō.

But in the Meiji Era the shrine was officially declared to be called Kagoshima-Jingū and to be dedicated only to Hikohohodémi-no-Mikoto.

At the annual festival held on August 15th, some sea-breams made of wood* and ladies' toilet-cases are sold in front of the shrine. This at once reminds us of the Nihongi legends about Hikohohodémi-no-Mikoto where in the Divine drama a sea-bream makes its appearance in whose mouth the lost fishhook of Prince Hikohohodémi-no-Mikoto was discovered. This occurred when the Divine Prince was staying with his consort Toyotama-Himé, the beautiful daughter of the marine king, enjoying their happy union for three years in the Dragon Palace in the depth of the sea.†

Teachings similar to those of this oracle, but slightly changed in expression, are found in the book, *Zokudanseigo*.

The main object of all such oracles or writings is to

* See the book entitled *Unai-no-Tomo*, vol. 1.

† As to further informations about this story, the reader may well refer to Aston's English translation of the *Nihongi* (vol. 1, p. 101).

advocate Sincerity with great earnestness, the idea which is derived from the Chinese classics, particularly from the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Chung Yung*), and the teaching of Mencius in which we read to this effect respectively :—

"Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men" (*Doctrine of the Mean*, translated by J. Legge).

"Never was there a man who, possessed of complete sincerity, did not move others.

Neither was there ever one who lacking sincerity, could inspire or influence others" (Compare *Chinese Classics* by J. Legge, vol. II, p. 179).

The latter passage by Mencius so greatly inspired the heroic Japanese martyr Yoshida Shōin (1831-1859) with self-sacrificing patriotic zeal for his country that he adopted it as a life-motto for the guidance of his moral conduct. In the same vein of thought Yamaga Sokō (1621-1685), a famous advocate of Bushidō, asks the question :—

"How can one get into touch with God? Through Sincerity and nothing else. Invoke God with the sacrifice of a sincere heart; He, although invisible, will surely descend upon you* and permit you to enjoy divine communion with Himself. The same is true of a sovereign and his people: if the monarch sympathize with his subjects in all sincerity, they will be greatly touched thereby and sensible of his kindness†."

Upon this one principle of Sincerity, Inoué Masakané (1790-1849), founded a new sect of Shintō called the Misogikyō in 1840 and thus he preached :—

"Regulate your life by this unique principle of Sincerity.

* Cf. *Matthew* III, 15-17. *Luke* III, 21, 22.

† Yamaga Sokō, the *Chūchō-Jijutsu*, or *History of the Middle Empire* (Japan). St. Benedict taught: "Keep your heart lifted up. For that is the way to God!"

Cf. *Genesis* VI, 9; XVII, 1, 3. *Job* I, 1. *Matthew* XVIII, 3, 4. *I Peter* II, 1-5. The Japanese are convinced of the truth "What the mouth speaks, the heart thinks," like the proverbial "Bamboo cut right straight through all the same up and down"

I assure you it pleases the Sun-Goddess, and you will thereby secure unseen protection from all the other gods" (*Catechism on Yui-itsu Shintō*).

Last of all, H. M. the late August Emperor Meiji also teaches us sincerity and purity in heart, and thus says:—

"These five articles* should not be disregarded even for a moment by the soldiers and sailors. Now for putting them into practice, the all important thing is sincerity. These five articles are the soul of our soldiers and sailors, and sincerity is the soul of these articles. If the heart be not sincere, words and deeds, however good, are all mere outward show and avail nothing. If only the heart be sincere, anything can be accomplished. Moreover these five articles are the "Grand Way" of Heaven and Earth and the universal law of humanity, easy to observe and practise. If you, soldiers and sailors, in obedience to Our instruction, will observe and practise these principles and fulfil your duty of grateful service to the country, it will be a source of joy, not to Ourselves alone, but to all the people of Japan."

The Imperial poem :

"With the unseen God,
Who seeth all secret things,
In the silence—
Communes from the earth below,
The heart of the man sincere."

* Loyalty, propriety, valour, faithfulness, (righteousness) and simplicity.

† Translated by F. A. Lombard.

CHAPTER XXXI .

THE SAYING OF YAMATO-HIMÉ

"The Goddesses of both the Inner and the Outer Shrine at Isé are self existing and primordial, having neither beginning nor end—a Great Spirit, the Over-Soul." (1)

"Trust in our national Kami (Deities) with your whole heart and never give heed to any Buddhist or other teachings of foreign origin." (2)

"The Innermost-Self of the Kami resembles exactly the luminous surface of a mirror which, being all brightness, never fails to reflect any figures which pass before it. This is the reason why the mirror was chosen to be the emblem of the Sun-Goddess at the Shrine of Isé.

This Great Spirit, or Innermost-Self of the Kami transcends all our thoughts and is incomprehensible. The Most High stands aloof from earthly things, and yet is not the Non-Existence, or Absolute Nothing or Void, as the nihilistic Buddhism asserts." (3)

"Every man should first purify his mind and heart and keep them simple, setting them free from all wrong thoughts; otherwise, evil spirits will take possession of him and as a consequence drive him into the abyss to his eternal ruin.*

"Shintō particularly lays stress on the teaching which informs us how to keep our mind and heart pure and simple." (4)

"Adore God with purity of heart, forsaking evil desires, and mere worldly petitions, and distracting thoughts; then this Divine Grace will unfailingly be bestowed upon you, just as the Earth is unconsciously enjoying Heaven's unseen blessings day by day.

"Look upon that Order of Nature, unconscious, yet punctually going its rounds in regular succession, so man

* Cf. *Matthew* xii, 44.

should calmly follow this heavenly example and in his daily life quietly fulfil his duty, with a mind undistracted by worldly cares.

"The essential in man is his soul, the Innermost-Self, which is derived from the Kami whilst even the Buddhas were originally men of flesh and blood, having their essence derived from the Kami. So you should know that the Kami is the First Cause, *i. e.*, the Cause of Causes.*

"Hence, the Kami is the Most Ancient of the Ancient,† the Fathomless of the Unfathomed, the Hidden One, the First Principle, the Foundation of all the phenomenal worlds. The man who apprehends this profound truth comprehends the Kami and partakes of Divinity, *i. e.*, becomes immortal." (5)

"Reverence Heaven and Earth, adore the Kami, worship the Ancestral Deities, and live in perfect accordance with the Law of Nature.

"The Kami will listen to a simple sincere prayer or a sincere heart, and be well pleased even with a bit of cloth offered in faith and love rather than with costly gifts and splendid dainties, or even sacred ropes (Jap. *shiménawa*) offered for thousands of days by worshippers who are less pious or even impure in heart. (6)

"Try to invoke the Divine name once with reverence and sincerity, it will bring purity where there is impurity, cleanliness where there is defilement." (7)

Yamato-Himé was a daughter of the Empress Consort of the Mikado Sui-nin. In the 25th year of that Emperor's reign, being appointed guardian priestess of Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami

* In the *History of religions*, George Moore of Harvard University thus quoted the word of the Chinese philosopher Chuang-tse a contemporary of Mencius:—
"In this second chapter he (Chuang-tse) develops the doctrine of the identity of subject and object in the Unity of Tao (the Way).

"When subjective and objective are both without their correlates, that is the very axis of Tao. And when that axis passes through the centre at which all infinities converge, positive and negative alike blend into one infinite One.....The universe and I came into being together; and I, and all things therein, are One" (pp. 56, 57).

† Cf. "*The Ancient of Days*." Daniel vii, 22.

the Sun-Goddess, Yamato-Himé visited different provinces on a tour of inspection to discover a suitable site in which to erect a shrine for the Goddess. At last, receiving by revelation an instruction from Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami Herself, she established a shrine on the banks of the River Isuzu in Isé, which has ever since been the Mecca of Shintō pilgrims and of Japanese people at large. Prayer is offered towards this Divine Sanctuary from worshippers in all parts of Japan, just as the Jews still offer prayer towards the Holy Temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem (destroyed by the Romans in 70) following the ancient custom observed by their people when exiles in Babylon (*Vide* DANIEL VI, 2, 10, 11, 25).

In the 40th year of the Emperor Keikō's reign Prince Yamato-Také on his expedition against the perfidious Emishi (Ezo) or modern Ainu in the Northeastern Provinces repaired to the Isé Shrine to worship the Sun-Goddess.

Then the Shintō High Priestess, bestowed on her nephew, this warrior Prince, the famous divine Sword "Kusanagi" or "Murakumo," one of the Three Auspicious Regalia of the Imperial Throne, wishing him a decisive victory through the invisible protection of the National Goddess. According to the *Shintō Pentateuch* (*Shintō-Gobusho*), she died in the 23rd year of the Emperor Yūryaku, but this statement must be historically inaccurate, for it amounts to saying that she lived about 600 years, *i. e.*, between the reigns of the Emperor Sui-nin and the Emperor Yūryaku. But as the above short biographical sketch shows, she did actually live long before the introduction of Buddhism into Japan (552), and therefore could not have known anything of Buddhism. At this point, it is clear, the author of the *Iwarongo* contradicts himself. Moreover, most of those words and thoughts attributed to Yamato-Himé are traceable to the various sources of Shintō writings,* which were not written until the foreign teachings, Buddhism and Chinese

* Particularly the *Shintō Pentateuch* (*Shintō-Gobusho*). And also Urabé Kanetomo, the *Outlines of Shintō*, or *Shintō-Taii*, the *Yaditsushito-Myōhōyōshū* and the *Ryōbu-Shintō-Ruktsushō* should be consulted.

classics, were introduced, and greatly influenced by both, and, further, the sources of those Shintō writings are again traceable to certain Buddhist texts and Taoist books.

Historically considered, spurious, as Yamato-Himé's sayings are, yet the teachings expressed in them, are morally more beautiful, and religiously more advanced than the thoughts in primitive Shintō.

(1) A parallel passage in the *Shintō Pentateuch* (*Shintō Gobusho*), which must have been the original text of the *Analects* :—"The Goddesses of the Inner and Outer Shrines are the ancestresses of the ruler and the ruled, the higher and the lower, as well as of all the Heavenly and Earthly Deities."

Besides, in the *Shintō Pentateuch*, and in other Shintō works, e. g., the *Ryōbushintō-Kuketsushō* (*Book on the Dual Shintō*), and the *Shintō-Taii* (*Outlines of Shintō*) by Urabé Kanétomo, we can easily find the authors grasped the truth that the Kami is a Spiritual Being.

In a certain book on Shintō we read :—

"Both the Sun-Goddess (Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami) and the August Food-goddess (Toyoké Daijin) are supreme ancestral Divinities, namely, the original Essence of light in Heaven and Earth, the First Being, the Noumenal Existence, invisible and changeless, whose teachings are pure and genuine, unstained by the Buddhist doctrine.

"At the Shrine of Isé, the emblem of this invisible, ineffable, immutable, primordial Substance is a Sacred Mirror whose surface is immaculately bright and never fails to reflect anything and everything which passes before it" (*Jingi Fudenzu*).

(2) In the *Yamato-Himé-no-Mikoto-Sēiki* (*The Life and Teachings of Princess Yamato-Himé, a High Priestess of the Sun-Goddess at Isé, which is included in the Shintō Pentateuch*), the guardian princess gives us the same teaching, which must have served as the original text (in Chinese) of the *Japanese Analects*.

(3) In the same spirit, the author of the book called *Yōfukuki* says :—

"The God Amé-no-Minakanushi-no-Kami (Deity-Master-of-the-August-Centre-of-Heaven) is the Void and yet the Spirit, the Invisible One, just as the 'Illustrious Virtue' of the Chinese Classics may mean, according to Chutsze's* annotations, 'bright,' 'stainless,' divinely spiritual, undefinable, yet in Itself all comprehending, and pervading. It can, therefore, readily manifest Itself in things phenomenal, and at the same time reflect the latter in the former.

"It is clear that the word 'kami' is derived from the Japanese *kagami* (mirror), omitting *ga* the second syllable (the nigoried from of *ka*, the first syllable of *kami*).

"As the 'Illustrious Virtue' is justly comparable to a mirror, if a man be pure in heart, stainless as a bright mirror, he, the microcosmos, is enabled to partake of the Macrocosmos, and becomes himself a manifestation of the divine Amé-no-Minakanushi-no-Kami or Amaterasu-Ō-Mikami.

Moreover, the heart being his temple, God can be doubtlessly found within it; but the impure in heart, cannot catch sight of the Divine in his own heart;† it is just like the door of the Divine Sanctuary being closed, or the surface of a mirror left rusty and unpolished so that, it is incapable of reflecting any images.

"Do, therefore, hasten to open the Temple-door of the Divine Sanctuary within you, and polish the mirror in your own heart, and then God will at once reveal Himself to you!"

Compare the following words of Athanasius with the above; he wrote :—

"The divine Logos is a being incorporeal, expands Himself in the universe as light expands in the air, penetrating all, and all entire, everywhere. He gives Himself without losing anything of Himself and with Him is given the Father who

* 1129-1200

† Cf. the words of Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v, 8).

makes all by Him, and the Spirit who is His energy. In order to know God, He must be looked for within the soul. In order to know the way which leads us to God and to take it with certainty, we have no need of foreign aid, but of ourselves alone. The Kingdom of God is within us" (Clay Macauley, *The Faith of the Incarnation*, p. 314).

(4) The famous Shintoist Urabé Kanétomo says:—

"Shintō teaches us how to keep our mind upright and tranquil, not readily enticed by any kind of temptation. If our mind be so well disciplined as to keep calm under any circumstance, our soul will find perfect rest. If otherwise, it is just the reverse.

"Shintō teaches us how to keep our mind upright and our heart pure, and even evil spirits will do us no harm, but unless we act so, they will be enraged, and bring us to utter destruction. In Shintō the first and best thing is to discover and worship God within our own self. This is well termed 'Inner Purity,' by the Shintoists."*

(5) Compare our textual passage with the following extract from the well-known *Shintō Pentateuch*:—

"Mind in man is the fundamental Principle of the Universe. Heaven and Earth are originated therefrom, in an idealistic construction of the view of the world, whilst according to the Chinese philosophy man's body is constituted by the five elements (*gogyō*). Know ye this ultimate Cause of Causes, *viz.*, your own primordial Mind!"

(6) See the Oracle of the God of Kasuga, and its notes.

(7) Tachibana Sanki (in the Tokugawa Period) also says:—

"A Shintō God, being an avatar of the Original Supreme One, is very strict as to corporal purity in his worshippers, but the Original Supreme One is quite indifferent about such a thing, regarding it as a matter of small concern, if the worshippers are but pure in heart.

* The Quakers or Friends, and Quietists in the West have similar teachings.

"Moreover, as the Sun-Goddess is this true Original Substance from which all Shintō gods and Buddhas are descended, it does not matter for Her whether the worshipper's body is pure or not,—the uncleanness of a woman in child-bed, that of death or menstruation, etc.,* are not considered at all, all that She wants is purity of heart. Hence, should a person ever become polluted in any of these ways, bid him recite the Name of the Sun-Goddess, and he will surely be effectually cleansed from such pollution by the recital virtue of that Divine Name,** and also have his desires granted by unseen aid."***

CHAPTER XXXII

THE SAYING OF FUJIWARA KINKAGET

"The Relation between the sovereign and his subjects in this 'Divine Kingdom' is like that of father and son,—i.e., parental love on the one side, filial piety on the other.

"The Heavenly Sovereign is high above the people here on earth beneath. As Heaven and Earth are co-eternal yet have a separate and distinct existence widely apart, so are the ruler and the ruled in Japan: they remain eternally with the same distinction."

In the 17 Articles of the Constitution promulgated by the Prince Regent Shōtoku in the year 604, the sovereign is compared to Heaven and his subjects to Earth. In the Ordinance of the Sun-Goddess to Her Grandson, we also find the idea of the everlastingness both of Heaven and Earth and of the Imperial Dynasty of Japan.† "The Heaven above and the Earth beneath: this is the order of nature, if otherwise, everything would be in confusion."

* Exactly the same impurities for which the Mosaic law so strictly legislates in the Hebrew book of *Leviticus*.

** Cf. *Acts* 11, 21.

*** This tenet reminds us of that of the Buddhist Shin sect, the religious idea of which may seem more or less to have affected some of the later Shintoist schools.

† 1297-1360

‡ Aston's Translation of the *Nihongi*, vol. 1, p. 77; vol. 11, p. 129.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SAYING OF FUJIWARA SUKÉUJI

" 'To-day' is of the first importance for a man, for, without 'to-day,' he could have no 'to-morrow.' Bearing this in mind, every one should fulfil his daily duty, never putting off till to-morrow what can be done to-day.* Therefore be not anxious about the morrow, the uncertain future, but care simply and solely for 'to-day,' and daily listen attentively to Duty's call."

This idea reminds us of the words of Jesus:—

"Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof (*Matt.* vi, 34).

In the same spirit the Buddha Gautama says:—

"Trouble yourself neither with the past, nor with the future. For the past is no more, while the future is not yet come. Only the actual present is ours and concerns us at this very hour, the real substantial 'Now.'"

A Japanese poem ascribed to the Buddhist priest Shinran (1173-1262), who founded the Shin sect, also expresses the same truth:—

"The perfumed bloom

The cherry-tree puts forth,
Has scarcely opened on this changeful world
Ere fateful breezes blow,
And all the flowers fade and disappear."

A famous poet, Tōsen (T'ao Chien, 365-427) also says:—

"This morning's dawn
Will never come again;
So, fortune a revisit never makes.

* This is a wellknown old English proverb.

The Duke of Wellington, victor of Waterloo and vanquisher of the great Napoleon, on being asked the secret of his being able to get through such an incredible amount of work, replied to his questioner in these simple words: 'I always made a rule of doing to-day's work to-day!'

Work then with diligence ;
 Time heedless speeds away ;
 Slow-footed idlers are soon hopeless left."

The same truth was also revealed in different language to a lady called Kisā Gotamī by the Buddha in his sermon, on the occasion when she was admitted into his order.

"He who lives a hundred years but does not see the immortal place (*i. e.*, Nirvāṇa) has not so good a life as the man who lives only one day and sees it.

Confucius also says :—

"If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret " (Rongo, Lun Yu).

The same truth is thus differently stated by Dōgen (1200-1253), who founded the Sōtō branch of the Zen sect :—

"Never be absent-minded, listless, idling all day long. If a man works diligently for his salvation but a single day, it will be of considerable value towards his salvation, not only in this life of a century but also in another life beyond. It is because he works out his own salvation by his own effort.* And thus a day's life to him is indeed priceless and well worth living."†

The above-mentioned teaching variously expressed by master minds is thus popularly taught in Japan :—

"A mint of gold
 May be your constant joy.
 Yet to your daily life the summons comes,—
 Do you, your earnest best,
 And never be remiss where Duty calls."

"Ye farmers, hear !
 Keep clear your fields, of weeds.
 E'en though, in autumn, rains and floods may come
 And lay your harvest waste,
 Your duty is to work‡
 Whatever be the fruit your labor bears."

* Cf. *Philippians* 11, 12-18, St. Paul's teaching.

† A question which has recently been troubling Western brains is this: "Is life worth living?"

‡ Jesus says: "My Father worketh hitherto and I work" (*John* v, 17).

H. M. The Emperor Meiji teaches the same truth in a Japanese ode, thus:—

“ O ye, who are the rich,
Your daily duties, faithfully perform
Forgetting not that heaped up wealth
Oft brings the evil, ‘ Idleness ’ .”

Compare the above with the following verses of Pythagoras which Epictetus enjoined upon his pupils:—

“ Let sleep not come upon thy languid eyes
Before each daily action thou hast scanned,
What's done amiss, what's done, what's left undone ;
From first to last examine all, and then
Blame what is wrong, in what is right rejoice.”*

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE SAYING OF TAKAHASHI KORÉNAGA

“ He is a truly wise and competent general who with a compassionate heart prays to the Buddha for the salvation of even his bitter foes who have fallen victims on the battlefield.

“ Contrariwise, an ordinary general seems to like to fight simply for fighting's sake, so that he frequently goes so far as to annihilate all the branches of his enemies' families. This is disregarding the fundamental principles of humanity and benevolence and it results in his own utter self-destruction. This invariable truth is only known by an excellent general ; a mediocre one does not understand it.”

Takahashi Korénaga was a contemporary of the famous Shōgun Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199).

In the same compassionate spirit, H. M. the late Emperor Meiji says:—

* S. J. Case, *Evolution of Early Christianity*, p. 273.

" Though for his country's sake
Each man should hate its foes,
Yet never let him dare forget
The law of mercy and good will."

This is just the same truth upon which the Red Cross Society was founded and it is the reason why this society has come to have an international significance. The idea of universal benevolence and of loving-kindness to the enemy was fostered by the teaching of compassion toward all sentient beings ever since Buddhism was first introduced into this country in the 6th century, and was therefore in existence long before the Red Cross Society was founded in Europe, which was about the middle of the 19th century.

Suffice it to mention two remarkable facts in Japanese history which assuredly reflect the good influence of Buddhism upon the Japanese heart. One is the religious monument erected by the Buddhist Priest Son-é in the yard of the Shōjō-kōji, popularly known as the Yūgyō-Dera, after the honourable name of the founder of that temple, Yūgyō-Shōnin Ippen of the Ji sect, at Fujisawa, Sagami, in 1418 (the 25th year of Ōei), in memory of all the soldiers in both the rival forces, who fell in the war between Ashikaga Mochiuji and Uésugi Ujinori in 1416. The other is also a sacred monument erected by a feudal lord (daimyō) in Kyūsyū, called Shimazu Yoshihiro, in 1599 (the 4th year of Kéichō), in the precincts of the sacred Mount Kōya in Ki-i after the famous Taikō's* expedition to Korea (1592-1598) in memory of those soldiers in both the Japanese and foreign armies who sacrificed their lives for the sake of their respective countries.

In both these cases the dead friends and foes, Japanese and foreigners, were treated on exactly equal terms, the barrier of nationality being no hindrance at all; the distinction of rank, high or low, counting as nothing in respect of their souls. This is a conspicuous instance of the influence exercised by the

* Otherwise called Toyotomi Hidetoshi.

Buddhist teachings of universal benevolence, and the equality of all living beings.

Lastly, let us cite out of many one instance which is described in the *Taihiiki*, namely, that Kusunoki Masatsura (*d.* 1349), son of the famous Masashigé (1294-1336), took a good deal of trouble to save the hostile troops who in crossing the River Yodo at the Watanabé Bridge were in risk of drowning.

This at once reminds us of that noble action after the Battle of the Japan Sea, performed by Admiral H. Kamimura, who in his compassion and true-hearted kindness towards the conquered Russians, rescued the lives of all these unhappy men who must otherwise have been drowned.

This historical fact is a convincing proof of the truth contained in the saying of the renowned Chinese sage Laotze: "Compassion is that which is victorious in the attack, and strong and impregnable in the defence."

The epitaphs on the monuments erected at the Yugyō-Dera on the 6th of the 10th month in the 25th year of Ōei,* after mentioning the principal names of those killed on either side, run as follows:—

"Praised be the Buddha Amitābha (Namu Amida Butsu)!"

"This monument is erected in memory of the men and animals, whether friends or foes, who fell in the campaigns of the 23rd and 24th years of Ōei (commencing on the 6th of the 10th month). Do you, priests and lay believers, offer your sincere prayers to the Buddha Amitābha in behalf of the dead."†

The memorial inscriptions on the monument erected on Mt. Kōya in 1599 are as follows:—

"On the 15th of the 8th month in the 2nd year of Kéichō,‡ at Nangen in the Zenra Dō, several thousands of soldiers of the

* 1418.

† Cf. *The New Topography of Sagami Province*, vol. xxxiv.

‡ 1597.

Ming Army laid down their lives, among whom 420 were killed by the Japanese troops under my direct command.

"On the 1st of the 10th month more than eighty thousand men of the same hostile army were killed at Shisen in the Kéishō Dō.

"May the Buddhas bestow protection upon each soul, who took part on either side and found his last resting place in Korea, being loyal to the end to his own fatherland!"

"In those different engagements the slain on both sides numbered over three thousand, and those who died of disease or lost their lives by some accidents either on land or sea were too numerous to count."

The above-related three facts prove that works of universal benevolence were already carried out in Japan in the same noble spirit as that of the Western Red Cross Society to whose membership Japan was admitted in 1886 (the 19th year of Meiji).

CHAPTER XXXV

FUJIWARA TADAHIRA*

"Above all other virtues that an able general should cultivate are fidelity, loving-kindness, paternal love to the people, and the avoidance of any immoral acts.† The first one is, so to speak, his father, the second his mother, the third his children, and the fourth his stranger-foe. The four cardinal virtues (happily comparable to the four seasons of the year) cannot be dispensed with."

Fujiwara Tadahira was the 3rd son of Hidéhira, very faithful to his dying father's words, in opposition to his brother

* 1167-1189.

† This was well exemplified by the Japanese in China during the Boxer trouble in contrast with the conduct of some of the European allies, and in the present war to that of the highly cultured Germans.

Yasuhira, he stood to the last extremity by the famous Minamoto Yoshitsuné, a hostile brother of Minamoto Yoritomo (1147-1199), and was finally killed by the treacherous Yasuhira.

According to the author of the *Japanese Analects*, a similar idea is attributed to the famous Buddhist monk Soséki otherwise called Musō-Kokushi (1295-1351), in an epistle of moral instruction to Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358). He said :—

"Loving-kindness, truthfulness, full and careful consideration, forbearance, perfect harmony and peace in family life—these are, indeed, your impregnable and safest stronghold, whilst remissness and idleness, violence and injustice, love of pleasure are no doubt your most dangerous foes.*"

Compare the above with the following Biblical passage :—

"Fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry..... Put onbowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering."†

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE SAYING OF THE BUDDHIST PRIEST RYŌSHIN

"What is man's comfortable home? It is the good mind, whilst the evil mind is a dangerous habitation. To our regret, however, only very few people know this simple truth. He who grasps it enjoys a peaceful life, whilst he who is ignorant thereof passes his whole life uneasily in his dangerous dwelling-place."

Ryōshin (1019-1077) of Kyōto was a grandson of the Emperor Kazan. He became the chief abbot of the Tōji of the Shingon sect. After his conversion to Buddhism, he enjoyed a quiet monastic life in his beloved Ishiyama-Dera, on Lake Biwa, in Ōmi Province.

* *Warongo*, VOL. IX. † *Colossians* III, 5, 12.

He was baptised in accordance with the rites of the Daigo Branch of the Shingon sect and was widely renowned for his Buddhist virtues. He died at the age of 59 in the 1st year of Shōrēki (1077).

A similar idea occurs in a book entitled "Honchōmon-zui," namely:—

"The wise man, it is said, dwells in a house whose beams and pillars are constructed of justice and benevolence; its corner-stone of good manners; its gate and door of morality; and its walls loving-kindness. The daily household business is only to practise thrift and do good. Even the brutal force of the natural elements, for example, fire and wind, cannot destroy this kind of dwelling, so that it is an asylum absolutely secure from evils from abroad, and well protected against the intrusion of robbers or even demons and bad spirits.

"In building this kind of dwelling, one need not appeal to supernatural agencies for aid, nor afflict people with the burdensome cost of construction. It is a spiritual mansion of an entirely moral nature. Such a virtuous family may truly be called wealthy in the true sense of the term, and the master of the house, because of his virtue, will enjoy longevity as well as high official rank which is to be inherited by his descendants."

The author of the *Warongo* ascribed the following expression to the renowned loyalist warrior Kusunoki Masashigé*:—

"Let a general be valorous and just, yet full of benevolence to others, such a general, armed with the unconquerable moral weapons of the Three Cardinal Virtues,† is indeed invincible, never destroyed even by fire or flood."

(1) A similar idea occurs in the Christian tradition of the Apostle St. Thomas, one of the Twelve, who was sold as a

* As is well-known Masashigé is regarded as the beau idéal of a warrior, the noblest example of loyalty that Japan has ever produced. He put an end to his life at the battle of the Imperialist party against Ashikaga Takauji.

† The Three Cardinal Virtues of the Chinese, as they are generally understood, are Wisdom, Benevolence, and Valour. Here we find that the author puts Justice in place of Wisdom, leaving the other two virtues as they stood originally.

Isave skilled in architecture to the Envoy of Gondoforus, King of Northwest India (capital, Gandhāra), in order to build him a palace.

The saint did so, but it was a spiritual palace eternal in the heavens, and built of living stones, *viz.*, the sick, and the poor, and the needy whom he had tended, with the money given to him to build a material palace of marble and precious stones (which at least, was not highly moral nor an example to follow !).

The king, naturally incensed thereby, threw the apostle into prison, but through a vision of his own brother (who had pre-deceased him) Gondoforus was made to understand the true significance of the palace which his brother had seen in the heavens and was converted and received baptism at the hands of St. Thomas.

This legend is interesting on account of its connection with Gandhāra whence Mahāyāna Buddhism spread to Northern Asia, after the council convened by King Kaniska, who succeeded Gondoforus in the regions of the Indus valleys, in the latter half of the first century A. D.

(2) With this (written by Yoshishigé Yasutané in 982) compare further the following passage in which the same idea occurs:—

“Enjoyment of the Buddhist religious truth is my wife; loving-kindness towards others my daughter.”

Also compare the following quotation from a Buddhist text* by Prof. M. Anésakai in his *Essay on Buddhist Ethics and Morality* (p. 24).

“‘His mother,’ it is said, ‘is wisdom (*prajñā*), his father tactfulness (*upāya*), his kinsmen all beings, his dwelling the vacuity (*śūnyatā*), his wife joy (*prīti*), his daughter love (*maitrī*), his son truthfulness (*satya*), and yet his household life makes him not attached to existence.’”

* The commentary of great authority on the Brahmajāla Sutta by Tā-hsien (Daikien), a Korean monk of the 8th(?) century.

In the same spirit the Buddhist monk Enchin⁽¹⁾ says:—

"The body of the Tathāgata⁽²⁾ is made up of the unshaken Truth;⁽³⁾ the mind of the Buddhist monk is of the Holy Wisdom.⁽⁴⁾ Where both truth and wisdom exist, there also Immortality is found. He who grasps this verity knows no more death"⁽⁵⁾ (The *Genkōshakusho*, VOL. III).

The student may profitably compare this with the Buddhist parable of the sower quoted by Rhys Davids in his *Buddhism* (p. 134), and with St. Paul's *Epistle to the Ephesians* (iv, 14-16) in the New Testament; and with the Hebrew prophet Isaiah (xi, 4,5) in the Old.

In the same spirit, Mencius says:—

"Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man, and righteousness is his straight path" (*Mencius*, Legge's English Translation, p. 178).

"The scholar does not consider gold and jade to be precious treasures, but leal-heartedness and good faith; he does not desire land and territory, but considers the establishment of righteousness as his domain; he does not desire a great accumulation of wealth, but looks on many accomplishments as his riches" (The *Li-ki*, translated by J. Legge. *S.B.E.* VOL. XXXVIII, p. 404).

(1) 814-891.

His posthumous name is Chishō Daishi, one of the most powerful superintendent abbots of the Buddhist Temple Onjōji in Ōmi. His fame is widely known in connection with the Ryōbu Shintō or Amalgamated Buddhism and Shintō.

(2) *I.e.*, the Buddha.

(3) *I.e.*, Dhamma-bhūta in Pāli.

(4) *I.e.*, Paññā in Pāli.

(5) "Verily, I say unto you, if a man keep my saying, he shall never see death" (*Gospel of John* VIII, 51).

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE SAYING OF THE PRINCE REGENT SHŌTOKU (SHŌTOKU
TAISHI) TOGETHER WITH THE ORACLE OF THE GOD
KIBITSUHIKO (KIBITSUHIKO DAIMYŌJIN)

"In Shintō the expiatory rites of purification (Jap. *harai*), are in particular highly valued, being regarded as the fountain-head of all virtues, various good actions, and the spiritual foundation of all religious things. The term itself conveys to us an association of the profoundest significance. Shintō expiation or rite of purification heals various diseases, both of body and mind. It is the elixir of longevity which ever bestows on us eternal youthfulness, so that we never grow old and decrepit. It is not Japan alone that is auspiciously favoured (being under the unique guardianship of the Shintō gods or Buddhas), but all other nations upon earth, may enjoy the same heavenly blessings.

"But alas! ignorant of this simple revealed truth, they will eventually be led into the nether abyss (or the nether world), just as water finds its own level."

Compare this saying with the following view of Shintō expiation or purification (*harai* expressed in the Oracle of the God Kibitsuhiko or Kibitsuhiko Daimyōjin, mentioned in the *Japanese Analysts*, which is not yet completely spiritualistic *i. e.*, rather naturalistic).

The Oracle of Kibitsuhiko Daimyōjin :—

"The expiatory or purificatory rites are all of Divine origin. And so their efficacy is limitless. If one single act of purification or expiation be exercised, it is capable of warding off multitudes of calamities that threaten to fall on us.

"If we pray to the gods a hundred times reciting a Shintō ritual, then thousands of human offences against the gods will be forgiven at once. Truly, the divine grace is immense and everlasting; we should be grateful for the blessings conferred upon us by Heaven and Earth from one generation to another."

"Nothing, indeed, exceeds the boundless grace of God."

The renowned Shōtoku Taishi (*d.* 622) was son of the Emperor Yōmei (*d.* 537) and heir-apparent to the throne of Japan. He acted as Prince Regent to his aunt, the Empress Suiko (554-628). As is well-known, he was deeply versed in both the Confucian and Buddhist Classics. His earnest endeavours for the civilization of this country cannot be too highly estimated.

Since Buddhism arrived in Japan from Korea in 552, there had been two political parties in antagonism to each other. Soga-no-Umako, the leader of the one party, advocated the Buddhist faith, whilst Mononobé-no-Moriya who led the other side, was a conservative and exclusive supporter of Shintō, the national faith, and regarded the supporters of the new alien doctrine as his religious and political foes. In the course of the ensuing feuds, the party which favoured the acceptance of Buddhism gained a signal victory, resulting in the entire expulsion of their opponents from the Imperial Government and their utter exclusion from the political arena.

The Prince Regent Shōtoku, being from his youth an earnest follower of Buddhism, as a matter of course, sided with the Buddhist party. The sudden fall of Umako's political rival Moriya and the abrupt accession to power of the Soga family in the Government—whose success resembled the rising sun!—led Umako to act unjustly and violently, and the Emperor Sushun (*d.* 592) was particularly displeased by several instances of his high-handed conduct towards His Imperial Majesty.

Whereupon, Umako went so far as to incite a notorious rascal of Korean origin to assassinate the Emperor Sushun—an unprecedented incident, indeed!

Hence, some anti-Buddhistic Japanese historians, in after times, ascribed Umako's high treason against His Imperial Majesty to the bad influence of the foreign religion and accused Buddhism of being highly dangerous to our nation and our ancient traditions; even going so far as to impeach the Buddhist

Prince Shōtoku, because he not only left the regicide unpunished but supported Umako against Moriya. The reader, however, should not assume that the Prince yielded to the fascination of the Chinese or Hindoo civilization at the expense of the dignity of Japan. Quite the reverse, for he sent a written message to the Chinese Emperor Yodai (Chinese Yang-ti *d.* 616) of the Zui (Chinese Sui) Dynasty, in which he never humiliated himself, but addressed that great Emperor of the Middle Kingdom in terms of equality.

Neither was Prince Shōtoku so much absorbed in the alien teachings that he ignored the national religion, as chauvinistic Japanese Shintoists or historians have often feigned. This is proved by the fact that the Prince Regent together with a number of the state ministers and court dignitaries worshipped our national Shintō gods in the 15th year (607) of the Empress Suiko; although some assert that the predominant idea in the famous 17 Articles of his Constitution or rather Instruction to the court officials, seems to have been both Buddhistic and Chinese, and very few, if any, Shintō thoughts are traceable therein. Even so, we can justly say that Shōtoku Taishi was an unparalleled patron of both Buddhist belief and Confucian teachings as well as the most influential supporter of the Shintō religion; and this is the reason why the Ryōbu Shintōists or syncretic Buddhists claimed that their teachings were founded upon the authority of the greatest princely syncretist that Japan has ever produced.

By the orders of Shōtoku Taishi, the Constantine of Japan, as we might call him, various monasteries throughout the Empire were established, among which, that of Shitennōji* near Naniwa, now Ōsaka in Settsu Province, a grand monastic building erected in commemoration of the victory won by the Buddhist party against Moriya, is one of the most renowned.

* The Shitennō, *i.e.*, the four Heavenly Kings (Skt. Catvāra Mahārājā) are the guardians of the world of men. Their names are Dhṛtarāṣṭra, regent of the North, Virūdhaka, regent of the South, Virūpākṣa, regent of the West, Vaiśravaṇa regent of the East.

Oftentimes, the Prince himself delivered lectures on Buddhism in the presence of the Empress Suiko, in the Imperial Court. He also wrote Commentaries on the Three Buddhist Sutras* in classical Chinese. He died in 622 (the 30th year of the Empress Suiko's reign), at the early age of 49.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE SAYING OF THE BUDDHIST PRIEST SHŌSHIN TOGETHER WITH THAT OF THE BUDDHIST PRIEST HŌÉN

"If a man worship even a portrait or wooden image of a Buddha with his whole mind and heart, his sincerity will assuredly enable him to see the true Buddha with his mind's eye† and realize a holy communion with Him; and if a man is full of compassion and loving-kindness towards others, the God of Fortune will grant him priceless jewels. Good will be returned for good, and evil for evil."‡

Compare with the above the following words attributed to the Buddhist priest Hōén of the *Japanese Analects* :—

"If a simple-minded man credulously take some artistic representations—as, for example, some portraits or sculptured images,—for the True Person of the Buddha, such is one who mistakes pieces of good-for-nothing stone or worthless tiles for genuine gold. But he who is incapable of penetrating into the deep symbolic meaning of the divine portraits and images, may well be set down as a realistic idle philosopher who cannot

* Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra, Śrīmālā-devī-siṃhanāda Sūtra, Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra.

† Cf. *Ephesians* 1, 18; iv, 18.

‡ "Man reaps what he sows" (*Galatians* vi, 7-10).

discern the rare and priceless gold in a quarry from worthless ordinary pebbles upon the wayside."*

Hōén (953 or 5-1046) was a Buddhist monk of note. He studied Buddhism under the cereblated Master-monk Ninkai and was baptized by a priest of the one branch of the Shingon sect. The Hōrinji,—popularly known as the Ogurusu-Dera at Ujigun in Yamashiro Province,—was once placed under his care.

Cf. the following words of Mujū-Hosshi in his work *Shasēkishū* :—

"Supposing that there are here two golden statues, one of which is a human figure, and the other is that of an animal. Do these two *toto calo* differ in their very nature, even although, outwardly, they appear different from one another? Similarly, creatures are many, but their true essence is identical, one and the same proceeding from the selfsame Divine Absolute. This is just what I believe."

Hayashi Dōshun, the famous scholar for Chinese classics, quoted the above-mentioned passage in Chinese in his book *Honchōjinjakō*, and tells us that the passage is that of the superintendent abbot Kōken of the Mi-idera or Onjōji.

The thoughtful reader will readily perceive some connection between our textual idea and that above-cited.

Mujū-Hosshi, the author of the *Shasēkishū*, seems to have derived his idea from the monistic religious philosophy of the Kegon sect, which is epitomized in the work *Konjishishō*, or *Discourse on a Golden Lion-Statue* by the celebrated Chinese Buddhist priest Hōzō, otherwise called Genju-Daishi (d. 712). The latter, when delivering his lectures before the Chinese

* Arthur Schopenhauer, speaking of the two kinds of philosophy, says :—
 "A philosophy makes the claim and has therefore the obligation, in everything that it says, *sensu stricto et proprio*, to be true, for it appeals to thought and conviction. A religion, on the other hand, being intended for the innumerable multitude who, since they are incapable of examination and thought, would never comprehend the profoundest and most difficult truth *sensu proprio*, has only the obligation to be true *sensu allegorico*" (*The World as Will and Ideas* English Translation by R. B. Haldane and John Kemp. 1891. vol. II, Bk. I, Chap. xvii, p. 367).

Empress Sokutembukō (Chinese Tsê Tien Wu Hou, 624-705), at the Imperial Court of the Tang Dynasty, took advantage of an ornamental golden statue of a lion which he observed standing in the alcove in order to help Her Majesty to an understanding of the profound esoteric truths of the Kegon religious philosophy.

"For example," he exclaimed, "artists can repeatedly remould the same gold into variously shaped lion-statues, but no matter how frequently this is done, the gold still remains gold, ever the same substance, changeless, immutable, indestructible, neither decreasing nor increasing at all. Some may say, 'This is a lion, and not gold.' whilst others may claim, 'It is gold, and not a lion.' As you know, each assertion is, in fact, equally correct, without excluding the truth of the other. It chiefly depends upon the point of view."

We are told that Shōshin (1187-1275) was a disciple of Shinran (1173-1262), the founder of the Shin sect. When young, Shōshin frequently acted with violence and injustice, but being converted to Buddhism by the Buddhist Saint Hōnen (1133-1212), who was Shinran's master and had founded the Jōdo sect, he devoted his after life to the propagation of Buddhist pietism* (*i.e.*, the Shin sect), throughout the eastern provinces of Japan.

In 1247 Shinran gave this beloved disciple his portrait drawn by himself both as a souvenir and with a view to being worshipped by the devotees of the Shin sect. Shōshin founded a Buddhist temple, Hō-onji, at I-inuma in Shimōsa Province.

Tradition says that a local god† at I-inumamura presented Shōshin with a living carp as a token of gratitude, because on one occasion when Shōshin's sermon on Buddhism had much influenced the audience, this local god was amongst them. To the surprise of a stranger who had no knowledge of the circum-

* *Viz.*, Salvation only by faith in the Buddha Amitābha (Amidabutsu or Amidanyorai).

† Already amalgamated with the Buddhist deity Yamāntaka.

stances, the annual incident of offering a living carp at the Buddhist temple Hō-onji to the image of Shōshin was occasioned and solemnized in opposition to one of the Five Buddhist Precepts which forbids us to kill any living being. Once, when the long-established annual ceremony was about to be discontinued by the proposal of the priest in charge of the shrine of the local god, it happened that he was seized with fever, and so he lost no time in restoring the custom, because people attributed his illness to the wrath of the god at the abolition of the fish-offering.

Now it is a note-worthy fact that, although one of the Buddha's fundamental precepts commands men to abstain from eating flesh, and not to kill any living thing, the image of a Buddhist priest was offered a living fish. This shows how greatly and how singularly Buddhism naturalized in Japan was transformed from that originally taught by its founder on the banks of the Ganges in India.

The Western reader is probably aware that the priests of the Shin sect are allowed to marry and eat flesh like lay believers. Now we are told that in Mongolia the Lama priests offer to the Buddhist Goddess Avalokiteśvara (the Chinese Kwanyin, the Japanese Kannon) the head of a swine.

An unknown Buddhist priest of Japan in the Tokugawa régime says :—

"To adore the image of Buddha with all your heart and mind is just the same as to worship the very Buddha Himself. There is no difference between them."

In the same spirit Soséki or Musō-Kokushi* (1275-1351), a celebrated priest of the Zen sect also says :—

"If you worship just an image of the Buddha, as if it were the true real person of Him, you will surely be blessed with the Buddha's immense grace. If, on the contrary, you do not pay homage to it because it is only an image and nothing else, you will undergo divine punishment without fail.

* As to the biographical notes on this Buddhist monk, see pp. 115-117.

"Is it not certainly a happy occasion for us, here below, after some three thousand years have elapsed since the time of the Buddha, to be able to worship a portrait of the Glorious One, even if it is but a portrait?"

The celebrated Buddhist priest Myōchō (1272-1337), whose posthumous honorary title was Daitō-Kokushi also says:—

"The vast profundity of the esoteric absolute truth of Buddhism transcends the ken of ordinary human knowledge. So the compassionate Buddha, as a provisional education of mankind, permits us to adore an image of the Buddha in a temple built by human hands, so that we may by and by rise to grasp the full meaning of the religious truth and apprehend what the True Person of the transcendental Buddha is."

Myōchō of the Ki family was born in the province of Harima in 1282. As a lad of 11 he first learned the doctrine of the Tendai sect under the Buddhist priest Kaishin of the Ritsu sect at the monastery on Mt. Shosha (Shoshazan), and then he was converted to the Zen sect, to which the early propensity of his mind naturally led him. From this time onward, he earnestly practised the Zen mental discipline, the school of which is something like that of the Yoga school, under the guidance of the famous Zen master Bukoku Zenji at Kamakura and also the celebrated Daiō-Kokushi of the Zen sect at Kyoto.

A Buddhist priest Gen-é, once Myōchō's religious enemy and afterwards a disciple, and a wealthy merchant called Sō-in of Kyōto, both became ardent followers of Myōchō, managing to establish a monastery for him at Murasakino in Kyōto. This is now the well-known temple Daitokuji in Murasakino, Kyōto.

Myōchō was honoured by the favours of both the Emperors Hanazono (1295-1347) and Godaigo (1289-1359). Their Majesties granted him audience and were pleased to hear him read some Buddhist sūtras or deliver lectures on Buddhism in

their presence. The honorary title Daitō-Kokushi was conferred upon Myōchō by the Emperor Hanazono in recognition of the priest's meritorious services as His religious teacher. Moreover the Emperor Godaigo was pleased to donate a considerable sum of money to the monastery, and since then by the Imperial Ordinance it has been one of the monastic rules of the Daitokuji not to invest a priest of another monastery, even though of the same sect and however virtuous and learned he may be, with the rank of a chief abbot of the Government Temple Daitokuji. He died in 1335.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE SAYING OF THE BUDDHIST PRIEST NINSHŌ

"In a state of trance he who is absorbed in the faith of Buddha is himself Buddha. The same is said of the earnest believer in the Kami."

Ninshō, otherwise, known as Ryōkan, was born in 1217 at Shikishima in Yamato Province. His mother dying when he was 16 years old, Ninshō became a Buddhist monk under the guidance of the famous priest Eison, the Kōshō-Bōsatsu (the Kōshō Bodhisattva, *i.e.*, the Saint Kōshō) of the Saidaiji, a monastery belonging to the Ritsu sect. Ninshō was a learned as well as a virtuous master-priest. General Regents Tokiyori, Nagatoki, and Tokimune of the Hōjō family showed their regard for him, by founding the famous temple Gokurakuji at Kamakura and putting all under his control.

Although Ninshō belonged to the Ritsu sect there is no shadow of doubt but that he embraced the faith in Amida (Amitābha Buddha) and that it was this faith, no less than the

great monk's virtue, that he so greatly attracted and influenced his adherents.

It was on the promontory of Inamura that Ninshō prayed to the Buddhist gods to give their unseen protection to the Japanese nation against the invasion of the ferocious Mongols under Kublai Khan in 1281.

The life of Ninshō filled, as it was, with self-denial, benevolence, and sympathy towards others, was completely ruled by the fundamental Buddhist moral principle of loving-kindness. In short, he was indeed charity itself. He did everything in his power for the sick and the poor, for orphans and sinners. His sympathy extended itself not only to men but also to lower animals, and in especial to sick horses.

From this point of view, he is justly entitled to be called the founder of the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals."

Ninshō established a number of asylums, hospitals and orphanages, and, in particular, prepared bathrooms for the sole use of lepers, for whose comfort he untiringly laboured.*

To cite but one instance: There was a poor leper who could not walk owing to his constant ill-health; the Great Physician† (I-ō-nyorai, lit., the Physician-King-Tathāgata), as Ninshō was called, who nursed the sick man with special care, out of his pity and compassion, oftentimes went so far as to carry the patient on his back in the morning to the distant market place to make purchases and back again in the evening.

It is said that the sick for whom Ninshō cared during twenty years numbered 57,250. He was indeed the bosom friend of the poor and the forlorn, the sick and the decrepit.

He died in 1303. After his death, in recognition of the

* Cf. Matthew x, 7, 8.

† An epithet very often given to the Buddha Gautama by his disciples, and in especial, to Yakushinyorai (Skt. Bhaiṣajyaguruvaideśyāprabhasa-Tathagata) in the later Buddhism.

meritorious charitable services which he rendered to the Japanese people, the Emperor Godaigo was pleased to canonize him by conferring upon him the posthumous honorary title of Ninshō Bosatsu (lit. Bodhisattva, the Buddhist Saint) in 1327.

We are told that in the present great war the Russians are using the following petition in their liturgy in behalf of animals:—

"And for those also, O Lord, the humble beasts who with us bear the burden and heat of the day, and offer their guileless lives for the well-being of their countries, we supplicate Thy great tenderness of heart, for Thou hast promised to save both men and beasts, and great is thy loving-kindness' Master, Saviour of the world."*

CHAPTER XL

THE SAYING OF THE BUDDHIST PRIEST SOSĒKI, OR MUSŌ-KOKUSHI

"It is unworthy of the Buddhist or Shintō gods to pray to them for worldly trifles.† Why do you not beseech them to grant you the supreme Enlightened Knowledge which is the highest blessing? It is like asking a king or a baron for a sheet of paper worth a farthing instead of asking for the gift of a vast domain."

*Quoted by the Bishop of London at a great gathering at the Church House, Oct. 17, 1914.

† A Christian hymn composed by John Newton, a converted slave dealer and the friend of the English poet William Cowper, says:—

"Thou art coming to a King,
Large petitions with thee bring,
For His grace and power are such
None can ever ask too much!"

Soséki, whose posthumous honorary title is Musō-Kokushi, was born in 1275, in Isé Province.

It is said that he belonged to the Minamoto family. The early death of his mother, when he was only 9 years old, caused him to become a Buddhist mendicant, and he was thenceforth educated in various monasteries in Japan, and particularly by the renowned Chinese monk Issan, and Ken-nichi (or Bukkoku-Kokushi) of the Zen sect at Kamakura.

The Emperor Godaigo (1289-1339), greatly revered Soséki on account of his strict observance of the monastic rules prescribed by the Gautama Buddha, and took great pleasure in listening to the monk's lectures on Buddhism.

Soséki was the political adviser and religious teacher of both Ashikaga Takauji and his brother Tadayoshi. After the demise of the Emperor Godaigo, Soséki persuaded Ashikaga Takauji and Tadayoshi to build a Buddhist temple and a pagoda* in every province throughout Japan in memory of soldiers who fell on either side on the battlefields in the Civil War. His aim was to restore not only social order and peace, but, rather to appease the lamented Emperor's angry ghost, for the Emperor breathed his last at the temporary palace in Yoshino in bitter enmity with the ungrateful brothers, Takauji and Tadayoshi, both of whom had set up anew the Northern Court under the pretended command of the Emperor Kōgon (1313-1365) at the ancient capital of Kyōto in opposition to the Southern Court. Each of these temples in a province was named "Ankokuji (lit., "temple for the sake of the national peace"), and existed side by side with the older Koku-bunji (lit., "one temple for each province"), which was built for the rapid propagation of Buddhism in the reign of the Emperor Shōmu (701-756).

The Tenryuji newly built at Kyōto at this time by Ashi-

* The pagoda is called "Rishōtō," which literally means a pagoda for the future blessing of the creatures. The sacred pagoda at Yasaka in Kyōto is one of these.

kaga Takauji at the request of Soséki, the first temple of the "Gosan," or "Five Principal Buddhist Monasteries," was one of the most famous, just as the Tōdaiji at Nara, in the religious history of Japan. The Tahōin in the compounds of the Tenryuji is the mausoleum of the Emperor Godaigo.

History informs us that the Ashikaga Government, by Soséki's desire, sent special merchant vessels, called the "Zō-Tenryuji-Buné," or "Ships for the benefit of the establishment of the Tenryuji" to trade with China, and thereby raise funds for the completion of the Tenryuji foundation. In this enterprise Soséki was successful.

He died in the year 1351 at the age of 76, and was honoured by various posthumous titles successively conferred, amongst which the honorary title "Musō-Kokushi" bestowed by the Emperor Godaigo was the most popular.

It is recorded that when Soséki died the Emperor Sukō of the Northern Court suspended the court business for several days, mourning for this most deeply revered and virtuous monk.

This text incorporated in the *Japanese Analects* appears, with some alterations, to have been borrowed from a certain passage in a work called *Muchūmondō* ("Questions and Answers in a Dream") by Soséki which runs as follows:—

"The worldly-minded beseech the Hotoké (Buddhas) or the Kami (Gods), by virtue of reciting liturgies or repeating incantations at the temples, simply and solely for long life or earthly gains, desiring to get rid of misfortunes on earth under unseen protection, and, to our great regret, not to insure for themselves their eternal salvation at all. This kind of petty petition to the Unseen Powers may be happily compared to that of the Buddhist nun who once prayed to the Buddha at the Temple of Kiyomizu in Kyōto that Buddha would no longer permit loquat-stones to grow inside the loquat fruit, as the big stones prevented her from fully enjoying the sweetness of the fruit,—indeed, a small petition to the endlessly merciful Buddha!

"Likewise, one who wishes to secure such a small gift as this from the Buddha is just like a person who begs only a farthing from a millionaire. Even common people can easily afford such a trifle, if asked, and we need not trouble a millionaire for it. It is true that a worldly man of wealth, however rich he may be, is often greedy, and may refuse to give a humble petitioner any very costly things. So he who comes and asks rich people for something, will sometimes beg for trifles on purpose, and thus succeed in his petition. But, why should he ask the Hotoké or the Kami whose mercy and loving-kindness know no bounds, for worldly trifles? Unlike the greedy millionaire, so incomparably gracious and deeply compassionate are the heavenly beings that they are particularly pleased at the prayer for eternal salvation, and not at that for temporary happiness.

"A fool alone prays the Buddhas and Kami for worldly trifles, such as vain fame or longevity."

—(END)—

APPENDICES

APPENDIX—A

NOTE ON THE FOREGOING

BY

HARPER H. COATES, D. D.

Foreign students of Japanese religion owe Dr. Genchi Katō a debt of gratitude for putting within their reach in intelligible form not only a translation of these so-called oracles of Shintō divinities, but a carefully prepared series of historical notes about them and the shrines they have been supposed to inhabit, as well as some valuable scholarly critical judgments on many questions the student instinctively asks about them. He not only frankly tells us that "most native scholars have discarded the *Warongo* as unauthentic," but himself distinctly denies their historical value except as pseudographical writings reflect the late age in which they were produced. While seeming to give the chief place to the Shintō elements in them, he freely admits that they are "a syneretism of Confucianism, Shintō and Buddhism." He might also have added Christianity; for it is hard to suppose that a century after the introduction of Roman Catholicism into Japan, the single author to whom he ascribes them all—evidently a man quite sensitive to the deeper currents of thought in his day—could have found no place in his heart for those lofty conceptions of the ethical and the spiritual in religion, which, underneath the elaborate Roman Catholic ritual, made such a wide-spread and lasting impression upon his fellow-countrymen. While doubtless some of the parallelisms he notes between the religious ideas of the *Warongo* and the Christian Scriptures find their natural explanation in the oneness of the human spirit—whether Oriental or Occidental—in its most serious and exalted moods, one cannot but ask the question whether such striking similarities not only in thought but even in terminology are wholly explicable, if the influence of this

well-known and powerful Christian movement be excluded from our purview. Ruling Buddhist and Confucian ideas crop out at almost every turn, and the centrality of the Japanese nationality so characteristic of Shintō may be taken for granted. But the home thrusts at conscience and the strenuous insistence on the spiritual in religion—as over against the ceremonial—while not, of course, wanting in the systems imported from India and China, have a ring about them quite often which forces upon us the query whether this would-be eclectic author has not somehow rubbed up against the prophets and psalmists of Israel as well as our Lord and His apostles. One could have wished that in his laudable effort to give a divine sanction to such noble moral qualities as honesty, truthfulness and heart purity, he had himself been able to rise above the level of plagiarism—a fault whose moral turpitude has not yet, one sometimes thinks, very seriously disturbed the conscience even of modern Japan.

One cannot but sympathize with Dr. Katō in his effort to discover something at least suggestive of monotheism in these supposed utterances of the gods of the Shintō pantheon, but the nearest approach they made to it is in the conception of one among many. Here the author's incurable provincialism shows itself in his determination at all hazards to maintain the place of the national deities, even if it does involve the stupendous task of reducing the Infinite and Absolute Reality—who alone deserves the name of God—to the size and dimensions of the guardian deity of a small group of islands in the Pacific Ocean. But in this he is but imitating the methods of the Ryobu-Shintō Syncretism, which, to use Dr. Katō's phrase, is above all things "Japan-centric," and it must be admitted that this historic insularity of Japanese religious thought in the face of the universalistic systems of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity not only persists in our own day, but presents one of the chief barriers at this present moment to the emancipation of the Japanese soul. While he occasionally wanders in the mazes of pantheistic dreamland, where all consciousness of the fundamental distinction between the finite human and the Infinite Divine fades

away from his view, he may always be trusted to come back to his everyday consciousness when the status of some local Japanese deity is involved, while always deftly and with apparent sincerity clothing him with attributes which—to her praise be it said—the moral sentiments of the Japan of his age evidently demanded.

While passing these strictures upon the ultimate religious and moral ideas of the author, it would be a great injustice not at the same time to note with deep satisfaction the place of supremacy he gives to the ethical as an indispensable pre-requisite to the religious. The congeniality he finds in the noble moral virtues which he makes the gods demand is a suggestive comment on the high development of the moral ideas of his age, and the one thing needed then as now to translate them into life and action was a moral dynamic—a factor, alas, which has been so conspicuous by its absence throughout the history of Japanese Shintoism. Indeed the earlier Shintoism boasted of the absence of moral teaching in her system as unnecessary, leaving men mostly to “nature,” which all too often gave the free rein to passion. And that this is not all ancient history, the meretricious environs of even the Great Shrine at Ise as well as multitudes of other lesser shrines throughout the country to this day bear flagrant witness. But, whatever may be their defects, both Confucianism and Buddhism have rendered an inestimable service in the moralization of life in Japan, and it is this ethicised Shintō which finds such beautifully eloquent expression in many of the maxims of the *Warongo*. But the intellectual delight in and praise of high moral ideals are often found in actual life to be quite compatible with great moral laxity, and one may be permitted to doubt the effectiveness, now as ever, of a “Japan-centric” ethico-religious code in actualizing in individual and national life moral virtues whose ultimate sanctions, reaching beyond all racial boundaries, find their categorical imperative alone in the Universal and the Eternal.

The choice of the title *Warongo* for the author's pseudograph suggests that, while his “Ryōbu Shintō” heredity and

environment often led him to clothe his thought in Buddhistic language, his dominating conceptions, in spite of his protests to the contrary, were really Confucian, or at least that the aphorisms of the "Rongo" of the Chinese sage both in their form and content were his ideal of religious pedagogic method.

I cannot refrain from saying a thing or two about Dr. Katō's references to the Bible. His painstaking diligence in "searching the Scriptures" and noting resemblances to passages in the *Warongo* deserves all praise. Many are peculiarly apt, and indeed even raise questions, as before pointed out, of the author's acquaintance directly or indirectly with the Book of Books. But I must confess that many of the so-called parallelisms are to me quite fanciful and far-fetched. One can not but feel it a tremendous bathos to drop down from the solemn majesty of the Bible to the ethical common places of the *Warongo*. The author doubtless did have gleams of the lofty moral and religious principles which forever shine in the Biblical firmament, but the *Warongo* belongs to a different world, and a small world at that. To call such a book the Japanese Bible is a manifest misnomer, for such it never has been, nor is likely to be. Bibles are not so easily made. Instead of the lucubrations of this all but unknown copyist, it is rather the genuine *Rongo* of the great Confucius, foreigner though he was, whose pregnant proverbs have long passed into the common coin of Japanese speech, which comes very much nearer to deserving this high appellation.

Very instructive illustration is found in this *Warongo* pseudo-graph of the nonchalant habit into which even many modern men of "light and leading" in Japan have fallen, in the worlds of business, politics, education and religion alike, of devouring with apparent thankful avidity vast contributions to their stock-in-trade from the outside world, and then turning round, and, forgetting whence their lately-acquired riches came, proceeding learnedly to argue their distinctively Japanese origin. The unique qualities of the Japanese nationality as of the Anglo-Saxon wait on no panegyric of mine. The inferior races have

yet to show the marvellous power of assimilation of the best things—sometimes the bad things too—in world civilization, which has characterized the Japanese people from the time of their first contact with Korea, China and India more than a millennium ago down to the “Meiji renaissance.” But the penuriousness with which these debts to the outside world have often been acknowledged by spurious patriots, often in high quarters, is an inexcusable pettiness in a great people, and is happily seldom found among the more honest rank and file of the masses, except as they have been spoiled by their would-be instructors. Greatness does not show itself in the repudiation of a national debt, because the creditor happens to belong to another race, but in the frank and grateful recognition of the boon bestowed by a friendly helping hand reached out in time of need. The *Warongo* illustrates really the poverty not the riches of the Shintō ethical godown, whose scanty shelves had to be stocked with generous gifts from “utmost Ind and far Cathay.” Such literature, while of passing interest to the curious, belongs in any case to the realm of medieval archaeology rather than to life, taking a doubtful place along-side such works as the long obsolete Egyptian *Book of the Dead* and it may well be doubted whether even the industrious hands of an expert in the science of comparative religion like Dr. Genchi Katō can carry it far beyond the archives of the transactions of a learned Society and rescue it from that oblivion of the plagiarist to which, in the main, Japanese intelligence has justly consigned it. Dr. Katō’s own notes and comments are of more value to the scientific student because of the needed historical light they throw on Japanese religious eclecticism and on many of the local Shintō sanctuaries, interest in which however both at home and abroad tends ever, with the circling of the years, to pass from the sphere of religion to that of archaeology.

APPENDIX—B

AUTHOR'S REPLY TO DR. COATES'S CRITICISM

While sincerely thanking the Rev. Dr. Harper Coates for publishing his criticism on my notes on the *Warongo*, I regret that I cannot agree with all he says. Especially do I find myself in discord with his view or rather conjecture as to Christian influence on the Oracles and Sayings. As far as our present knowledge goes, it would be most hazardous to assert that Christianity can be regarded even indirectly as a source of the Oracles and Sayings I have quoted. For, with the present state of investigations into the text, it is all but impossible to find any *positive proof* that Sawada Gennai, the real author of the *Warongo*, living as he did in the anti-Christian atmosphere of the earlier part of the Tokugawa régime, had means of learning anything about Christianity, as some Christian missionaries in Japan are inclined overhastily to assume. Far from being under the influence of Roman Catholicism, Sawada Gennai seems to go so far as to assume an attitude of defiance towards Christianity, because he rejects things occidental in general—Christianity not excepted—as customs of the southern barbarians,* as both the Western merchants and the Roman Catholic missionaries were then called contemptuously in Japan. On the other hand, we are able to trace quite satisfactorily the genesis and nature of the *Warongo* up to sources different from Christianity, namely, Shintō, Confucianism (some knowledge of Taoism included) and Buddhism (some knowledge of Brahmanism included). It is therefore safer, though some might call it mere scholarly timidity, not to admit any Christian influence upon the ideas of Sawada Gennai.

* Vide the Saying ascribed to a lady of a noble family, called Katsuko in the *Warongo* (VOL. VII).

Dr. Coates considers that it is inappropriate to designate the *Warongo* by such a term as the *Japanese Bible*. His misunderstanding might have arisen from the imperfection of my unhappy English diction, to say nothing of his Christian predisposition. For this I must bear the responsibility. But I would like to ask—May we not call Osaka “the Manchester of Japan,” or Japan “the England of the Far East?” If the latter two cases are quite admissible, why not the first? We may say that the Confucian *Rongo* is to the Chinese what the Christian *Bible* is to occidental Christians. So if the real author (Sawada Gennai) of the *Warongo* or *Japanese Rongo* were living in the present age, he might have called his book the *Japanese Bible* instead of the *Japanese Rongo* (or *Analects*). In order to indicate this fact I have sometimes called it the *Japanese Analects*, as Dr. Legge gave the name *Analects* to the *Rongo* (*Lun Yu*) of Confucius, while I sometimes call it the *Japanese Bible* with a view to guiding the occidental reader to an easy understanding of what Sawada Gennai naturally means by his peculiar expression *Warongo*. Is this way of explanation or interpretation inappropriate? Is this a misnomer for which I am responsible?



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- "Although, at first sight, honesty may seem to be unprofitable to man, yet remember that in the end it brings him Sun and Moon's reward....." 17. 謀計雖爲眼前之利潤 必當神明訓正直雖非一旦依怙 終蒙日月憐 (運歩色葉集)
- "As root and branch and leaf....." 78. 神はもとじり(樹)は枝葉佛花この身のたれの釋迦の分れ身 (神代評實記、一、一二)
- "Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man....." 103. 仁者人之安宅也 義者人之正路也 (孟子、離婁、上)
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- "Compassion is that which....." 98. 慈以戰則勝、以守則固 (老子、道德經、六七章)
- "Do you not recognize.....?" 76. 景戒、日本國現報善惡靈異記 (經濟雜誌社本、群書類從、一七輯、四二)
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- "Give help to one....." 30. 思ひいづやなき名なつ身はうかりきさあら人がみになりと昔を (小大進、古今著聞集、五、國史大系、一五、二六三、尙十訓抄、下、國史大系、一五、八〇〇參照)
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- "Have faith in me,....." 28. 我れたのむ人徒らになしはてば又雲分けてのぼるばかりぞ (新古今和歌集、一九、刺蕨)
- "Have pity, pray,....." 33. あはれさも神々ならば思ひ知れ人こそ人の道をたつとも (仁俊、古今著聞集、五、國史大系、一五、二七二、尙、十訓抄、上、可談上人之事、國史大系、一五、六八八參照)
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- "The family that accumulates goodness....." 57. 積善之家有餘慶積不善之家有餘殃(易、坤卦、文言)
- "The Heavenly and Earthly Deities....." 23. 天神七代地神五代神々……(日蓮與北條時宗書、日蓮上人御遺文、六〇八)
- "The Land of Bliss!....." 27. (大覺國師法語、禪宗聖典、七四七)

- "This morning's dawn,....." 94. 盛年不重來 一日難再晨 及時當勉勵 歲月不待人 (陶淵明)
- "The only guide to trust,....." 62. 極樂の道のしるべは身をさらぬ心一つの直きなりけり (古今著聞集、一、國史大系、一五、一六二)
- "The scholar does not consider,....." 103. 儒有不寶金玉而忠信以爲寶、不斲土地立義以爲土地、不斲多積多文以爲富 (禮記、儒行、第四一)
- "The Shintō God being an avatar,....." 92. 悠じて垂迹の社には (橘三喜、神道四品縁起、神道雜誌、五七、國書刊行會第二期本)
- "The Sweetness of the Law,....." 23. 法味爲道食 飢渴今已除 (中本起經、上、辰、一〇、五四)
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- "The vast profundity of,....." 111. (大燈國師法冊、禪宗聖典、七四七)
- "Though for his country's sake,....." 97. 國のためあだなす仇はくたくさしいつくしむべき事な忘れそ (明治天皇御製)
- "To adore the image of Buddha,....." 110. 至心讚嘆形像供養生身等無差別矣 (說法明眼論鈔、一、七)
- "To cleanse oneself within and without" 25. 内外清淨
- "Trouble yourself,....." 94. 慎莫念過去、亦勿願未來、過去事已滅、未來復未至、現在所有法、彼亦當爲思 (中阿含、四三、庚七、一〇)
- "What pleases God,....." 25. 故神明愛德與信不求備物焉 (神道五部書、御鎮座本紀、國史大系、七、四五六)
- "Without a firm belief in the gods,....." 51. 武士の先づ存知すべき事云々 (義貞記、群書類從、四二四、經濟雜誌社本、一四輯、一一二二)
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- "You are surprised,....." 92. 露長英露時盛茂、一榮一落是春秋

KUMAZAWA BANZAN

BY GALEN M. FISHER, M.A.

I. THE AGE IN WHICH HE LIVED

The foundations of modern Japan were laid by the successive efforts of the three generals and statesmen, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, all of them contemporaries of Queen Elizabeth. They found Japan a confusion of warring, feudal states; they made her a unified, peaceful nation. In the transformation, radical social changes were introduced: in the family system, the eldest son was made the sole heir to the father's property, while up to that time all the children had received a share; in the class system the samurai and the farmers were entirely separated, the former constituting for the first time a kind of standing army; in warfare new tactics were made necessary by the introduction of fire-arms and of castles built after European models.

All these changes, accompanied by unwonted peace, stimulated the latent energies of the people, and they turned for an outlet to the lands beyond the sea. Fleets of Japanese freebooters plundered the shores of China for the better part of the 16th century. The government vessels with their three masts made voyages as far as Mexico and the Indian Ocean. Lord Daté of Sendai sent an envoy to the Pope at Rome. Even the occupation of the Philippine Islands was attempted by Japanese adventurers. The culmination of this expansive movement was reached in 1587 in Hideyoshi's ambitious expedition for the conquest of Korea and beyond. All this foreign outreach was abruptly checked by Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, when in 1615 he prohibited foreign trade and the building of sea-going ships. Intercourse

with Europeans had begun with the coming of Xavier and the introduction of Christianity in 1546. By 1590 the Christian propaganda had prospered so greatly that there were fifty-nine priests, two hundred churches, 150,000 believers, and in the province of Bungo, two mission schools. For a time Iyeyasu ignored Christianity, but he determined to clip its wings as a political menace by forbidding further free intercourse and trade with Europe. This policy was dictated also by his anxiety to prevent the provincial rulers from building up navies or becoming dangerously rich by oversea commerce. To keep down their wealth a yearly tribute of 1,600,000 koku* of rice was required of the provincial daimyos by the first three Tokugawa Shoguns from 1603-1650. Furthermore, the daimyos were compelled to leave their families at Yedo as hostages and themselves to pay homage by living at Yedo a part of every year.

To make rebellion still more difficult, one hundred daimyos were newly appointed from among the nearest kindred of the Tokugawas and were given some of the choicest fiefs. A strict superintendence was kept over all the daimyos to make them confine their energies to their own domains, while all sorts of pastimes and ceremonies were encouraged to soften the people and stifle the desire for war.

Favored by peace and good government letters prospered under the Second and Third Shoguns. But this period of culture gradually degenerated into the effeminate epoch of Genroku (1688-1703.) It was during the transition period, 1646-56, under the Fourth Shogun, that Kumazawa Banzan was at the height of his public service.

It was an age when martial heroes were giving place to devotees of etiquette and letters. Court titles began to regain their social influence. Military tactics become a subject of merely historical interest. Instead of inventing, men began to

* A koku is equal to 5 bushels. Until the Restoration all fiefs were rated according to their income in koku of rice.

classify. The systematized schools of horsemanship, fencing, boxing and gunnery, as well as the etiquette of the samurai, were all products of this era. At the same time there flourished actors, masters of floral arrangement, sword connoisseurs and artists in *yoruri*, *kabuki* and *sarugaku*.

The study of the later Chinese philosophers also issued in a division into schools. The Zen teaching so much in vogue among soldiers during the wars was superseded by the doctrines of Teishi and Shushi as interpreted by Fujiwara Seikwa and Hayashi Razan. The Shushi school, as an apologia for absolutism, enjoyed the favor of the Shogunate, while the somewhat revolutionary Ōyōmei school was officially tabooed and was taught by Nakae Tōju and Kumazawa Banzan at no little personal risk.

But parallel with Chinese philosophy, Buddhism prospered, being aided by Chinese missionaries, and after the complete prohibition of Christianity in 1624, it became the only recognized religion.

On the whole the first quarter of the seventeenth century was an era of culture, but a culture verging upon decay. One of the changes most conducive to degeneracy was the receipt by the samurai families of fixed allowances from their lords. Having neither to toil nor to fight, they became more and more thriftless. To make matters worse, whenever a provincial lord was deprived by the Shogun of his dominions, a host of samurai would be set adrift. Such masterless bands of samurai enlisted in the Toyotomi family and flocked to Ōsaka to fight against the Tokugawa forces. Although largely suppressed with the fall of Ōsaka castle, they rallied for a final stand in Shinabara (Amakusa), under the guise of a Christian rebellion, but were routed by the Shogunate. The failure of this rebellion against the Tokugawa put an end to the plots of these masterless samurai. But individuals among them became knight errants and bandits (*otokodate*), and flourished in spite of the frequent beheading of their leaders.

With all their faults they were one evidence that manliness had not been snuffed out by the degeneracy of the age.

It was at the very time when all these forces of disintegration were gaining headway that Banzan lived and worked, and while others were lulling themselves in fancied security, he was exerting all his powers to ward off impending calamity.*

II. OUTLINE OF BANZAN'S CAREER

In the Tokugawa era there were three eminent scholars, each representing a distinct type: Itō Jinsai, Ogyū Sorai and Kumazawa Banzan. Banzan alone was gifted with a combination of intellectual brilliance, administrative ability, and martial virtues. He never had a fair chance to display the statesmanship of an Arai Hakuseki, and he fell short of the saintliness of a Tōjū and the heroism of a Kusunoki Masashige, but he was a much-enduring martyr to progressive ideas and a great commoner—an apostle of social reform and of the rights of the people.

PERIODS OF BANZAN'S LIFE

I. Youth,

1. At Kyōto, 1619—1626 (1—7)
2. At Mito, 1627—1634 (8—15)

II. First term of his public service, 1635—1638 (16—19)

III. Devoted to study 1639—1646 (20—27)

* A tendency to effeminacy flowed like an undercurrent through the 260 years of the Great Peace of the Tokugawa Shogunate, but it broke out most noticeably in Genroku (1688—1704), then in Temmei (1781—1789) and in Bunkwa and Bunsei (1804—1830). Soon after the close of Bunsei the Yedo government felt the loyalist revival within and the new influences coming from abroad and, honey-combed by ages of inactivity and luxury, fell under the shock. If a similar shock had come at the close of Genroku or Tenmei, the Shogunate might have succumbed then. But the redeeming simplicity and manliness of Kwansei (1789—1801) helped to ward off the evil day.

- IV. Second term of his public service,
1647—1656 (28—37)
- V. As a scholar in retirement and exile,
 - 1. At Banzan-mura 1657—1658 (38—39)
 - 2. At Kyōto 1659—1666 (40—47)
 - 3. At Yoshino and Kanosegawa 1667—1668
(48—49)
 - 4. At Akashi 1669—1686 (50—59)
 - 5. At Koriyama 1676—1679 (60—67)
 - 6. At Koga 1687—1691 (68—72)

HIS LINEAGE

Banzan had an honorable lineage. In him was fused the blood of two old and honored families: on his father's side the Nojiri family, on his mother's the Kumazawa family. These families were from Owari and Mikawa, the provinces which during the Civil Wars had bred the men who made themselves masters of all Japan. But beyond good blood and breeding Banzan's forbears had little to give him.

His father, Nojiri Kazutoshi led a precarious life. In 1619, when Banzan was born, he was living in Kyōto as an unattached samurai, having been unable to find a lord to serve. In 1626 he had to send his family to distant Mito to be cared for by his wife's father. In 1637 he went to fight against the rebels in Shimabara, being engaged temporarily by Lord Itakura. In 1643, in his fifty-third year, we find him searching again for a position. But to the end of his life he could find no lord to take him into service. His was not an isolated case: many a robust warrior was left stranded in those peaceful, delicate days. In his old age, after Banzan had entered the service of the Lord of Bizen, the father led a quiet life studying the Yōmei philosophy under Nakae Tōju. Such was Banzan's father, rugged, independent, and to the end unadjusted to the degenerate age into which he had been carried over.

Banzan's maternal grandfather, Morihisa Kumazawa, was also a samurai, an able, high-minded man, seasoned by adversity, for the lords whom he served were one after another put to death. He it was that brought up Banzan from his eighth to his fifteenth year. The story of his loyalty and devotion to his last master, Fukushima Masanori, we may well pause to relate, because it illustrates so vividly the influences which played upon Banzan's youth.

Fukushima Masanori was the daring champion of the Toyotomi family and was much feared by the Tokugawa government, even after the downfall of Osaka, the last stronghold of the Toyotomi. When the sentence of exile to Shinano was delivered at Masanori's mansion, Masanori had no thought but to submit to the inevitable, especially as the Tokugawa authorities had taken the utmost precautions to prevent any resistance by his retainers. Without a murmur he accepted the sentence. He then called Morihisa and another of his retainers and said, "The Ōu men (the troops of Lord Gamo and others who were being sent to Masanori's mansion to overpower any opposition) are always rash. They may force an entrance through the gate, and my young braves may become excited and resist. Do you two station yourselves inside the gate and try to hold the youths in check. If they will not heed your orders, run back and tell me. I shall then commit harakiri." But Morihisa in anger replied, "My opposition to the authorities has brought me to this pass, and now would my Lord too, humiliate me?" Morihisa then turned to his fellow retainer and calmly said: "The young men are rash, as my Lord has said. They would spurn temperate words, but if we turned back from them they would interpret it as cowardice. Our honor would be stained forever. We shall cut down as many as we can of the Shogun's villains and report to my Lord afterwards: then let him do whatsoever he will with us." Masanori was touched by their heroism, but still urged them to use reason before force. As it turned out, the overwhelming size of the attacking force, so cowed the young hot-bloods that they

fled ignominiously, leaving Morihisa and six faithful comrades to be overpowered by sheer numbers. On the way to Shinano an attempt to assassinate Masanori was frustrated by Morihisa and the faithful six at the risk of their own lives.

The daughter of this staunch old soul was the mother of Banzan. We know little about her life. But it is safe to surmise that the continuous misfortunes of her father and her husband must have rested heavily upon her and oftentimes have left her single-handed to care for and train her three children. The eldest was Banzan, the second Hachiemon, a knight placed by the Lord of Bizen in a responsible post, and the youngest, Nojiri Issei, a scholar of the Yōmei school.

A WANDERING CHILD

Banzan was born in Gojo, near the center of Kyōto, in 1619, three years after the death of Iyeyasu. At his birth his father was thirty years old and his mother only eighteen. Kyōto still retained much of its prestige as the seat of the Imperial Court and as the center of religion and art. It had a population of 507,999 souls, nearly the same as it has today. Ōsaka had not yet become a great mercantile metropolis, nor had Yedo begun to rival Kyōto in beauty or size. The natural surroundings of the city were even lovelier than today. In such an imperial city Banzan spent his most impressionable years. The family had to struggle to make ends meet, for his father's sword was less and less in demand. From necessity Banzan and his mother had to leave Kyōto and travel overland for three weeks to Mito where they took refuge with her father Morihisa Kumazawa, who was yet serving Lord Yorifusa. Thenceforth Banzan assumed his grandfather's name, Kumazawa. How impoverished the family was can also be judged from the fact that the second boy was about this time sent to be adopted by a Hirado samurai. Banzan stayed at Mito from

his eighth to his fifteenth year, devoting himself ardently to military drill and learning to read and write fairly well.

A YOUNG SAMURAI

In his fifteenth year, 1634, he left Mito for Okayama, summoned thither by Lord Ikeda Mitsumasa through the recommendation of the famous Lord Itakura, a distant relative at Kyōto. In 1635 he accompanied Mitsumasa to Yedo and returned to Okayama in 1636. The next year he travelled with his master again to the capital. Thus he was busily engaged as a page and squire until his twentieth year, all the while acquiring that intimate knowledge of men and affairs which he afterwards turned to such good use.

The intensity of his ambition to become a model samurai is evidenced by his self-discipline as recounted in the following passage in his autobiography: "When I was about sixteen I had a tendency toward corpulence. I had noticed a lack of agility in other fleshy persons and thought that a heavy man would not make a first class samurai. So I tried every device to keep myself agile and lean. I slept with my girdle drawn tight and stopped eating rice. I took no wine and abstained from sexual intercourse for the next ten years. While on duty at Yedo there were no hills and fields at hand where I could hunt and climb, so I exercised with spear and sword. When I was on the night watch in my master's residence at Yedo, I kept a wooden sword and a pair of straw sandals in my bamboo hamper with which I used to put myself through military drill alone in the dark court after every one was asleep. I also practiced running about over the roofs of the outbuildings far removed from the sleeping rooms. This I did so as to be able to handle myself nimbly if a fire should break out. There were very few who noticed me at these exercises and they were reported to have said that I was probably possessed by a hobgoblin (*tengu*). This was before I was twenty years old and in my zeal I overdid a little.

After that I hardened myself by going into the fields on hot summer days and shooting skylarks with a gun, as I did not own a falcon for hawking. In the winter months I often spent several days in the mountains, taking no night clothes or bed-quilt with me, but wearing only a lined jacket of cotton over a thin cotton shirt. My little hamper was almost filled by my inkstand, paper and books, and two wadded silk kimono. I stayed over night in any house I came across in my rambles. In such ways I disciplined myself until I was thirty-seven or eight years old and avoided becoming fleshy. I was fully aware of my want of talent and believed I could never hope to be of any great service to my country, so I was all the more resolved to do my very best as a common samurai. There are perhaps some old men who remember even yet how active I was in those days."

The general peace maintained under the strong hand of Iyeyasu was threatened in 1637 by the insurrection at Shimabara. For a moment it seemed as though Banzan would have a chance to put his training to the test. Lord Itakura, through whose favor he had entered Ikeda Mitsumasa's service, had already gone to the field as the commander-in-chief of the Tokugawa forces. His father Nojiri Kazutoshi joined the expedition under Lord Nabeshima. His master, Lord Ikeda, was ordered to send reinforcements, as the expedition proved for a while unsuccessful. Young Sashichiro (Banzan) was still under age, only eighteen, but not to be denied, he took the law into his own hands and, going away for a time, went through by himself the rigorous ceremony of *genpuku*,* which would

* It was the custom for boys to bear a given name until they had grown up and then, at the ceremony of *genpuku*, to be given or to take another. Banzan's original given name was Sashichiro, his adult name was Jirohachi, and posterity knows him as Banzan, a name derived from the site of his first exile. To avoid confusion, in this paper he is hereafter called Banzan.

The ceremony was generally performed when a youth reached the age of 15, and was marked by wearing for the first time the clothes and head-dress of an adult, and changing the personal name.

entitle him to be treated as an adult. Then he returned to Okayama and applied to be enlisted. But he was still refused because of his youth, and also because the lower officials wanted to punish him for transgressing the ancient rules regarding *genpuku*. Mitsumasa however, sympathized with the lad, and to make up for his disappointment, proposed to give Banzan a higher post in his personal service. But the disappointed youth saw that the day had gone forever when a mere warrior could make a name; that he needed culture of a more intellectual sort. Accordingly he resigned his post and left Okayama. He had gone to Okayama an untrained lad; he left there after a rigorous apprenticeship of five years, a man versed in martial arts and acquainted with life and affairs both in Yedo and in Mitsumasa's dominions.

A PERSEVERING STUDENT

Banzan's whole heart was now bent upon getting a liberal education. He turned to this with the same assiduity as he had shown in military training. Upon leaving Okayama, he went to Kiri-hara in Omi, where his grandmother's family lived. His father was also there recuperating from wounds received at Shimabara. There he spent the whole of his twentieth year studying military books under his father. The next year, 1640, he happened to read for the first time "The Four Books of Confucius with Commentaries by Various Masters." He was deeply stirred and forthwith decided to study the classics. A few months later in his twenty-second year he went to Kyoto to seek out an able teacher, but in vain. One day he was sitting downcast in his hotel when an apparently trifling incident determined his destiny.

There came to the hotel a retainer who had been entrusted by his master with two hundred pieces (*ryo*) of gold. That evening upon his arrival he had left the gold tied in a bag to the saddle of his hired horse, and horse and driver had been

gone some hours when he discovered his loss. He was so distressed that he was about to kill himself, but just then, at dead of night, there was a pounding at the door. It proved to be the horse driver, who upon reaching home had discovered the money bag and had forthwith set out to return it to its owner. There it was, every *ryo*. The delighted retainer wanted to present the honest driver with at least a part of the gold, but he would not think of accepting it. Upon being questioned as to the reason for his extraordinary conduct he said it was due to the influence upon him of a fellow townsman called Nakae Yoemon or Tōju.

When Bunzan heard this he could not but wonder at a personality who could thus influence poor peasants. He left Kyōto at once to seek out Nakae Tōju in Ogawamura, Ōmi. Tōju declined to see the young stranger. But Bunzan was determined not to leave the village without an interview. At last Tōju yielded so far as to talk with Bunzan, but still declined to take him as a pupil on the ground that he was not yet fit to teach others. Bunzan went away to bide his time and to study by himself, and a year later, in July 1642, presented himself again to the master. Being refused again he stayed two nights outdoors under the eaves of the house. Tōju's mother was so moved by this that she persuaded her son to teach Bunzan as much as he knew himself. Tōju was then thirty-five years old and already had several followers, but Bunzan became the keenest of them all. He soon won the master's confidence, and day after day they pored together over the writings of the sages. All too soon the day came when Bunzan had to make a short visit home; but he returned to Tōju in September and stayed until April, 1643. During those seven months he was able to follow intelligently the lectures on Kōkyō (Filial Piety), Daigaku (Great Learning), and Chūyō (Doctrine of the Mean), although on first coming to Tōju his learning had been so meager that he had with difficulty understood the elementary exposition of Daigaku. Under Tōju he was able to study nothing besides the above three classics, his

extensive acquaintance with other books being due almost entirely to his own unaided study:

Of this formative period Banzan himself gives the following account: "When I had grown to manhood I was eager to study, but I had neither natural talent nor proper culture. For unfortunately when I was young and plastic I knew not that there was anything worth doing besides military drill. I spent my energy upon useless matters. After I fell ill in my twenty-first year I learned for the first time to read the "Four Books." The commentaries helped me to understand the text. In July of my twenty-third year I went to Ogawa and saw Mr. Nakac and asked him many questions. I went to sit at his feet again in September and stayed till April of the next year to study Kōkyō, Daigaku and Chūyō. After that my father went to Yedo to seek for a position and, as my mother and sister were left alone in a lonely castle at Kiri-hara in East Ōmi, it was impossible for me to go to Kyōto or to Tōji at Ogawa in West Ōmi. So I cared for my mother and studied by myself for five years. I served no master. We were very poor and lived upon the meal commonly taken by the Ōmi peasants. I had no tea, wine, soup, fish nor relish except the poorest kind of bean sauce. To keep myself warm I had only a paper coat and cotton clothes. But I was so absorbed in my books that I forgot the creature enjoyments of past days."

Yet he was not willing to be simply like the ordinary scholars (*jusha*) of the day,—conceited pedants who held aloof from the world, or quacks who used their knowledge to angle for fat livings. Banzan declared that culture imposed obligation: that "every gentleman ought to aid social progress by his accomplishments, whether military or intellectual. I would rather be an unlettered samurai than join the degenerate circle of so-called scholars."

A MINISTER OF MITSUMASA

In 1647 at the age of twenty-eight he re-entered the ser-

vice of Lord Ikeda Mitsumasa, this time as private secretary (*osobayaku* 御側役), with an allowance of three hundred koku of rice. For three years he occupied this comparatively leisurely post, which allowed him ample time to study and meditate. Before long the real depth of his culture was brought to light by accident. He tells us himself how it came about: "In order to provide for my widowed mother and my brothers and sisters I followed the advice of friends and sought and secured a position at the hands of Mitsumasa. While in Ōmi I had heard of the new doctrine of *ryōchi* (conscience, innate knowledge) from my master Tōju and had kept on studying it by myself. I read very little however, and said nothing, but devoted myself to meditation and self-culture. Accordingly most of my colleagues at Okayama had no suspicion I cared so much for holy learning (*seigaku*). But a few of my old acquaintances knew something of my devotion to learning and plied me with questions. I explained the doctrine to them a little and they passed it on to others, so that soon a group of five or six disciples had gathered about me. They were delighted with the teaching and began to speak of it openly. Then various garbled reports gained currency and hot disputes arose over my alleged opinions. There were some who even wanted to kill me. Then my Lord Ikeda had to listen to both parties and pronounce judgment. Thus for the first time my reputation was spread abroad and my master came to feel confidence in me." But for the insight of Mitsumasa he would have been branded as a heretic and would have been exiled or killed. As it turned out, the agitation only served to bring the young courtier's talents the more effectively to his master's notice.

On the recommendation of Banzan, Tōju was invited by Mitsumasa to come to Okayama but he declined on account of ill health. Not long after, in August 1648, Tōju died at the early age of forty-one, and Banzan was sent by Mitsumasa to pay homage at his funeral.

The time soon came, in May 1649, when Banzan's worth was fully recognized and he was appointed as head secretary to

Mitsumasa's government with an allowance of three thousand koku, although he was then but thirty years old. The succeeding seven years constituted the climax of his public career. His talents were given ample scope under the ablest feudal lord of the age.

Banzan turned his attention first to the question of creating a better military force. He organized a system of colonial militia, beginning the experiment at Hattojimura, a strategic point on the frontier of Mitsumasa's domains. He went himself to the village and acted as commander and drill master. Although he was a strict disciplinarian, when off duty he treated the common soldiers as his companions.

Next he turned his attention to the improvement of economic conditions. A democratic innovation begun by him was the hanging of a box outside the castle in which peasants could put suggestions and criticisms for the government. During a severe famine he distributed forty thousand pieces of gold among the poor and suffering. The emergency had baffled all of Mitsumasa's other ministers, when the whole matter was entrusted to Banzan. He advised his master to borrow the required amount from the Tokugawa government through the mediation of the daughter of the Shōgun, who was Mitsumasa's mother-in-law. Then he personally inspected the peasant farms and homes in order to see where the greatest needs were and to give rewards for deeds of virtue. His economic ideas were so original as to be considered revolutionary by the suspicious and conservative Shogunate, and he was driven into exile before he could put many of them to the test. He did much, however, to encourage industry and to put a stop to gambling and extravagance.

The problem of how to prevent the frequent inundations of the Asahigawa and other rivers was extremely perplexing, but Banzan constructed extensive dikes and encouraged afforestation with such success that the benefits are being reaped even to this day.

In education he was a pioneer, one of his best claims to

fame being the foundation some years later, of Shizutani Gakkō, the first educational institution of the Tokugawa period.*

His attitude toward Buddhist institutions was not so radical as that of Mitsumasa, who would fain have abolished them outright, whereas Banzan advocated the introduction of gradual reforms among the priests. But despite his sincerely tolerant spirit he was repeatedly slandered as an enemy of religion.

By these various measures Banzan made the dominion of Okayama a model eagerly copied by other principalities. Banzan's central ideal was jinsei (仁政), benevolent or humane government, which is expounded in "Daigaku Wakumon," a work so radical that it was not published till long after his death. The honor and wealth which accrued to Mitsumasa were chiefly due to Banzan's policies. But his genius would have been fruitless except for Mitsumasa's hearty support of his premier. Their harmonious collaboration has been admired ever since as a felicitous instance of an able minister serving an equally able master, a combination, as Dazai Shundai has observed, as rare as it is happy.

FAME

For seven years, 1649-1656, Banzan was the prime minister of the Okayama government. When he went to Yedo in 1651 and 1653 he found himself famous. Many of the haughty dignitaries and ministers of the Tokugawa government came to pay him homage and seek the counsel of this provincial upstart. Particularly was all possible honor shown him by the Lord of Kii, the most powerful, as he was the nearest relative of the Shōgun. Even the Shōgun, Iyemitsu, asked Banzan to call for an audience, but the Shōgun fell sick and died before the appointed day. Despite the attention paid

* The school may be seen today at Shizuani. The most interesting feature about it is the tiny unfurnished room in which Lord Mitsumasa used to sleep and meditate when he visited the school.

him Banzan never sacrificed his independence or his self-respect. He treated the court nobles and was treated by them as an equal.

A homely anecdote showing Banzan's unaffected camaraderie has come down to us. Once when he was on the way to Yedo with Mitsumasa he stayed over night at Ōtsu with his grand retinue. One of his old friends, a fellow disciple of Tōju, Kasahara by name, came to call on him at his hotel. Kasahara had on the end of his staff a bundle of salted spawn wrapped up in a sheath of young bamboo. He pretended to be lame and looked like a tramp. The hotel keeper paid no attention to him, but somehow word was carried in to Banzan that Kasahara was waiting to see him. The delighted Banzan came to the entrance to welcome him. The beggarly visitor made no bow, but simply said "I'm tired," and sat down. Thereupon, become the lad again, Banzan untied his straw sandals while Kasahara sat back and thanked him with a laugh. Then Banzan escorted him to his own room and they passed the better part of the night in drinking and eating the salted spawn and recalling the days of yore.

But unfortunately, at the very moment when his powers were at their height and the state most needed trustworthy pilots, he was assailed by officials in both Yedo and Okayama. On the way back from Yedo Banzan stopped at Kyōto and saw Shigemune Itakura, the governor. The host said to the visitor: "You have become famous. Your fault is in doing everything by yourself. Beware lest disaster come upon you. Go not again up to Yēdo." Banzan thanked him for the advice, and never went to Yedo again until he was summoned thither by the Fourth Shōgun thirty years later. Not only that, he seems to have resolved to retire at once. But a great flood in Okayama that year and a famine the next, both demanded his attention and made him postpone his resignation. In 1656 he hurt his right arm while out hunting and decided then that it was about time for him to give up hunting and martial exercises. The third son of his master, Shuzei

by name, was given him as his heir by his own request. The next year he made this adopted son the head of the family, and although only thirty-eight, retired to Terakuchi-mura in Bizen which he renamed Banzan-mura, after a favorite old verse. Ever since that time he has been known as Banzan Sensei (Master)*.

From statesmanship he passed easily back to scholarly pursuits. Although his opinions had at first been dominated by Tōju and the Yōmei school, he had early struck out along broader lines which he wanted leisure to follow further. At this turning point in his career his heart was gladdened by the birth of his first son, his first two children having been daughters.

A PRIVATE SCHOLAR IN KYŌTO

After two years in Banzan-mura, Banzan set his face once more toward his native city, Kyōto, from which he had been absent so long. He was now forty. Here for eight years he lived the frugal life of a scholar, studying music and the Japanese classics and putting his thoughts into writing. His progress in playing the biwa, koto and flute, as well as in various forms of Japanese singing was quite remarkable. His study of the Japanese classics resulted in two original works on Genji Monogatari. Among his friends one of the closest was a noble and cultivated Buddhist priest named Motomasa, under whom he studied Genji Monogatari, Hokekyō and some Sanscrit. For a short time Banzan enjoyed the respect and favor of all the scholars and nobles in Kyōto. It marked the zenith of his intellectual fame. But his sky was soon overcast again.

A HERMIT AT YOSHINO

His very popularity among the courtiers made him an object of suspicion to the governor of the city, who credited the

* Tōju is called "Omī Seijin," Seijin meaning sage and saint combined. The title has been given to very few men since the golden age in China. Sensei is a much more common term of respect.

calumnies circulated against him, such as that he was practising Christian magic. Some of the Buddhists also disliked him because the closing of the questionable shrines and the expulsion of many nuns and priests in Okayama were attributed to his influence. As a leading exponent of the Yōmei philosophy, Banzan was attacked also by the followers of Hayashi Razan, the favorite Shushi scholar of the Shogunate, and even some of his fellow disciples under Tōju turned against him. Most serious of all was the fact that as a leading rōshi (unattached knight) his intimacy with influential courtiers aroused the deep suspicion of the Shogunate, which always kept watch over the actions of the rōshi around the imperial court. Thus he was forced to leave the city in 1667 and retire to Yoshino,* a mountain famous for its cherry blossoms. On this occasion he composed the famous lines: "Yoshiya yoshi Yoshino no yama no yamamori to narite koso shire, hana no kokoro wo."
よしやよし吉野の山の山守となりてこそ知れ花の心を。
(Freely rendered: "Good comes from ill: were I not the guardian of Yoshinoyama, I could never understand the heart of the cherry blossoms.")

Before long, continued opposition compelled him to remove to Kanosegawa. But persecution only served to make his character shine brighter. He once aptly described himself thus: "The princely man (*kunshi*) does his work when circumstances are favorable, but he perfects his character when they are unfavorable. Prosperity is the spring and summer of life, adversity its autumn and winter."

Meanwhile, the unfriendly governor of Kyōto had been succeeded by one more favorably disposed toward Banzan. His slanderers had lost favor. At this juncture a friend said to Banzan: "The dastardly governor who drove you out was powerful then and wreaked his worst upon you. But he is

* Yamaka Sokō, another man of strong individuality, the "father of bushidō," met a similar fate about this time. He had attacked the Shushi school, in his "Seikyō Yoroku" published in March 1666, and he was exiled to Akaho in October, 1667.

suffering for it now and I am glad of it." Banzan replied: "Such a sentiment is mean and spiteful. He did wrong, to be sure, when he accused me falsely. His spite was hateful. But now his evil deeds have become so glaring that Heaven will punish him even if he is not punished by man. Small men like him always become dejected and bewildered when the tide turns against them. But they deserve our pity. It is unworthy of us to exult over them in their adversity."

AT AKASHI

The libels for which Banzan had suffered were found to be altogether groundless. Yet it was dangerous for him to return to Kyōto. False rumors were likely to be started against him again. With his consent the new governor entrusted him to Matsudaira, the Lord of Akashi. So Banzan removed once more and settled near Taisanji, a temple in the vicinity of Akashi castle. This was in 1669 when he was fifty years old. He travelled nowhere but to Ōmi to see his parents from time to time and to Hizen to superintend the founding of the Shizutani School, where he delivered the opening lectures.

When he first came to live at Taisanji, he was hated by the Buddhist priests, but before long they discovered his real character and their hate was turned to admiration. They came to appreciate his tolerant religious spirit and wondered who could have suspected him of being an arch enemy of Buddhism.

AT YADASAN

After he had lived for ten years at Akashi his guardian, Matsudaira Nobuaki, was appointed to a fief at Kōriyama, Yamato, and thither Banzan went with him. He dwelt at Yadasan near Kōriyama castle for eight years (1679-1687) until he was sixty-eight. During this period the watch over him was somewhat relaxed. Yet he refrained from teaching and devoted himself to study and writing. Some of his friends

grieved over his enforced silence and said, "The doctrines of Tōju are recognized as of the Yōmei school and are of course at variance with the authorized Shushi school. But there are followers of Tōju who gather hundreds of students and allow open debates among them; yet none of them is molested. Your teachings alone are absolutely tabooed, though why, no one knows. What evil is there in them? We know that through your influence many disobedient sons have become filial and unfaithful servants faithful, and yet parents warn their children and rulers their subjects against your teaching. You have not above twenty disciples and they have done nothing against the peace of society. We cannot account for the strange fact that the innocent are thus restrained while the guilty are left at large."

Meanwhile death had stricken his family. His father died in 1680, Mitsunasa his old master in 1682, and his favorite son in 1685. All these losses cast a shadow over his life, but this only served to deepen his moral convictions. He said about this time: "I am a man sent from Heaven; Heaven's spirit is in me, and how can I keep silence longer without guilt?"

While Banzan was at Yadasan the energetic statesman, Hotta Masatoshi, premier to the Fourth Shōgun, invited Banzan to Yedo and adopted some of his recommendations. Encouraged by this Banzan ventured to send a long letter to the young Lord of Okayama, filled with earnest counsel on political and social reform.

AT KOGA.

In 1687 he was removed to Koga, a town forty miles north-east of Tōkyō, partly on account of the desire of the Shōgun to see him. At length in October of that year he boldly presented to the Shōgun's government a sealed document which so displeased the authorities that he was punished by confinement in Koga castle. After a while he was released and allowed to live again with his own family. It is not known when he be-

gan to write this document or what offensive points it contained, although quite likely it was his *Daigaku Wakumon*. It led not only to Banzan's punishment but to the degradation of two officials,—Mazotaro and Gonzeimon, disciples of Banzan, who had forwarded the document to their superiors. Mazotaro was Inquisitor of the Christians and Gonzeimon was the Keeper of Arms. After this Banzan never uttered a word on current politics but began to play on a reed organ whenever the topic was broached. He often veiled his feelings by playing on the biwa and burning incense.

His calm self-control under these galling restraints was quite remarkable. He once said: "They slander and persecute me so that I am not free to move about or to talk on deep questions with distant visitors or nearby friends. But though my life may appear full of affliction, yet I feel it is full of heavenly blessings. The majesty of the moon as I have seen it in my places of exile (for example in lovely Akashi), is a sight which many have desired to behold. But such quiet moonlight nights as I have enjoyed cannot be appreciated by men engrossed with worldly concerns. In my exile the moon seems to shed a supernal light. Even if a man is rich and free to travel, if he has a guilty conscience he will have no peace. But even if one is called guilty, so long as he has a clear conscience, his heart will be tranquil and free. Sugawara Michizane would never have been so renowned had he not been exiled. I do not presume to put myself beside such sages, yet I protest that my conscience is clear and no one in the world can explain for what crime I was exiled. I was suspected and punished simply because of the calumnies circulated against me. How fortunate am I to be able to enjoy such exquisite moonlight by virtue of fictitious accusations! Moreover I have been ill and might have died if I had been free to work and to go on long journeys to visit my friends. Thus the slanders against me have been the means of lengthening my life! But I have never been afraid to die since I found the secret of true life. Yet while I live I rejoice in having leisure to read my beloved books." To

some who condoled with him on his lonesome life he said : " Even I have not time enough for all the good I want to do." When asked what good deeds an exile could do he replied : " If our mind is righteous, everything we do is good, even such trivial matters of the daily round as washing our faces and combing our hair. If our principles be not righteous whatever we do is vain, be it even so great a deed as the pacification of a country." He was perfectly submissive to the restrictions put upon him by the authorities and refrained from any secret attempts at evasion, trusting calmly that in the end justice and truth would vindicate him.

In the autumn of 1688 his wife died. All through his long years of hardship and exile she had uncomplainingly accompanied and served him. During her last days he took her hand and said : " Be at peace in your last moments." She opened her eyes and said : " How can I forget your constant teachings ! I am only sorry that I am to die before you." He replied : " Our life is like the morning dew. Which of us dies first matters not." She replied : " I was wrong to complain ; I die now according to the plan of Heaven. I have nothing to regret." Then as she peacefully breathed her last he said simply : " It is well."

During Banzan's last confinement he had begun to write his commentary on *The Book of Changes*. But he left the work unfinished, for death called him away on the seventeenth of August 1691 at the ripe age of three score and twelve. His death was sincerely lamented by the Lords of Koga and Okayama as well as by his disciples. Un'er the shadow of Keienji temple in the village of Otsutsumi, south of Koga, lie to this day the remains of Banzan and his faithful spouse.

III. BANZAN'S CHARACTER

Banzan's disciples have described his character thus:— His first principle was sincerity ; his second uprightness ; his

third self-control ; his fourth domestic discipline ; his last, the maintenance of peace and order in society (*heitenka, chikoku*). He believed earnestly in Tōju's doctrine of the unity of knowledge and conduct and strove to exemplify it.

HOMELY TRAITS

Banzan's domestic life is said to have been marked by simplicity, peace and seriousness. His virtues shone at home even more than in society. He was both a sage and a saint. He exemplified plain living and high thinking. Even when he was chief minister to the Lord of Okayama his living was so plain that his wife did all the cooking herself. One summer day he saw an old woman in want and forthwith took off and gave her the single kimono he was wearing, and himself put on a bath gown while he bade his maid-servant bring him the only other kimono he owned. But she reported that the other one was being washed, so he was obliged to wait till a new one could be made up. On the other hand he spent lavishly on his military establishment.

HIS TEMPERAMENT

Some one has described Banzan as below six feet in stature, handsome as a lady, keen of mind, magnanimous and ardent. If this be true, as we have no reason to doubt, it is hard at first thought to account for the bitter opposition from which he suffered during the latter half of his life. One of his dearest friends once told him : " Even if a measure is generally recognized to be good for the country, it will be blocked if it is known to have originated with you. If you keep still, your true views cannot be guessed by others ; but when you express them they are disregarded. That is the dilemma." The fact is, his nature was an enigma to most men. He probably aroused antipathy partly by his sphinx-like reserve, partly by his lack of the sense of humor, partly

by his lofty ideals, which were a rebuke to lower natures. To some his gravity appeared to be an affectation and suggested haughty reserve. His lofty, almost puritanic seriousness made him an object of suspicion and dislike to men of lesser mould. They felt aggrieved that he had no follies or vices which could be ridiculed.

SUPERIORITY TO SLANDER

Banzan was sadly misunderstood. Those who knew him well, like the peasants in Banzan-mura, were attached to him as to a father. Many evil things were ascribed to him by rascals who hoped thereby to cover their own tracks. The priests who became personally acquainted with him were surprised to find what an open minded, disinterested gentleman he was, instead of being, as popularly represented, a bigoted slanderer of Buddhism. He never tried to defend himself from slanders. He felt certain, he said, that superficial praise and blame alike would soon pass away, but truth and honor would abide. There were some scholars who condemned him publicly, but studied his writings privately and cribbed his ideas. He was indifferent to this plagiarism and remarked: "It is all the same if the thoughts themselves are useful to society. It makes no difference whether they are known as mine or some one's else. They are really the creations of the spirit of Heaven, and the question of who expresses them is no great matter." One is reminded of St. Paul's words: "What then? only that in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed; and therein I rejoice, yea, and will rejoice."

IV. BANZAN AS A STATESMAN

A PROTESTANT AGAINST THE ABUSES OF HIS TIMES

His career as a statesman began in 1645 with the second term of his service at Okayama. Nearly half a century had

elapsed since the ascendancy of the Yedo government had been settled by the battle of Sekigahara (1600) and the whole country had for several decades enjoyed unbroken peace. The daimyos had been completely humbled by the masterful Tokugawas and the country had been closed against foreign intercourse. Then fatty degeneration set in. With no more foes to fight the Mikawa warriors began to grow soft. Social life was effeminate. Banzan stepped out in bold protest against the age and all its works. Small wonder that his strict life and lofty teachings were distasteful to his contemporaries and were only praised long after, when reiterated by Sorai, Dazai and other scholars.

POLITICAL IDEALS

Banzan was a bold and original political thinker. He was both above and ahead of his age. When he boldly declared: "To me the Shōgun is only the vicerent of the Emperor, but I enjoy living peacefully under his government," it was no bragging pretence, but an expression of his political ideals. He went so far as to hint that government should be by the people and for the people, although through selected rulers. At times he came near being a socialist; for example, he said: "The world is the property of the people. Gold, rice and all the other forms of wealth are produced by Heaven for the people's sake. They are not to be monopolized by any one, for no one was born with any property. Hence they should naturally pass from the hand of one possessor to the next. They ought not to be owned and passed down through many generations." His lofty conception of the obligations of power and property is reflected in these sentences: "The sovereignty of the whole world is not a thing to be grasped at, and if inherited, it should be looked upon as a trust. To my thinking the Shōgun is the vicerent of Heaven and must bear the burden. I am free to enjoy his peaceful rule, and for this I

render a thousand thanks. Poverty is the common lot of us samurai but we ought to be grateful for it. A *kunshi* (superior man) will consider it a disgrace to own anything he has not properly acquired. I have no desire to wield political power, even when it is offered to me without effort on my part. The sage prizes social rank only in so far as it enables him to improve the condition of the people. If a man inherits a whole country he ought to rule it in the most humane way and preserve peace for the sake of the people."

ECONOMIC IDEALS

He saw that the Tokugawa policy of prohibiting foreign trade and weakening the provincial rulers, when accompanied by the extravagant demands of a luxury loving age, would inevitably lead to economic ruin. He held that this economic maladjustment lay at the bottom of all the social troubles of the day:— the poverty of the samurai, the decline of agriculture and industry, the floods and droughts, and the rapid increase of unemployment. The poverty of the samurai he held to be due to (1) the burden of the standing army, (2) the government's policy of weakening the daimyo, who consequently had to discharge many retainers, (3) the pension system, (4) the bad regulation of allowances, (5) the prohibition of foreign trade, and (6) the extravagant tastes of the people. The general economic depression he attributed to (1) the waste of rice and cereals, (2) the lack of foreign commerce, and (3) the dullness of the weaving business.

The measures drawn up by Banzan to remedy these evils numbered fourteen in all, comprehensive enough to serve as a modern party platform:— (1) Improvement of the administrative system, (2) reform of the medium of exchange, (3) encouragement of agriculture, industry and commerce, (4) protection of forests and flood prevention, (5) abolition of the separate class of soldiers, (6) strengthening of the daimyo, (7) relief of

the unemployed, (8) improvement of the defences, (9) reform of taxation, (10) encouragement of the old religions, (11) development of public education, (12) change of the regulations relating to the treatment of the Imperial Household, (13) the allowance of adoption as a means of preserving the family line, and (14) simplification of social customs. All these measures were elaborated by Banzan in his most famous work, *Daigaku Wakumon*, portions of which follow this paper.

ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY

These political and economic proposals Banzan had begun to test at Okayama, and under his leadership the Okayama administration became a model. But unfortunately his experiments were cut short after less than eight years, a period far too brief to do more than start such large undertakings.

Among his characteristics as a practical administrator was thoroughness. His schemes were always based on minute calculations, but at the same time were on a grand scale. His character and knowledge alike inspired confidence. Men knew that he had thought a problem out and would never drop it till the goal had been reached. An illustration of his exact calculations was afforded by the excavation of a certain pond. Other officials estimated it would require 100,000 days' work, but Banzan said, "No, it will take 300,000," and the event proved him to be correct.

The liberality with which he trusted his subordinates is reflected in his own words: "Rulers must not be too exacting towards subordinates. Fastidiousness may detect various shortcomings in others, but it will darken wisdom. Rulers must be willing to accept advice and admonition from any one. Then preserving an even mind they will be able to rule with peace and honor. This is the path of wisdom." "Rulers know that everything in the dominion is theirs. But they forget that 'everything' includes the wisdom of all their subjects.

Too often they refuse to learn of others. Such an attitude is always contemptible. The true sage assimilates all the excellencies of others and forms them into a perfect whole. He who will listen to others' wisdom will prove the wisest master of all, while he who shuts himself up in his own wisdom will fall behind them all."

RELATION TO MITSUMASA

Ikeda Mitsumasa was one of the ablest rulers of the age, energetic, penetrating and self-controlled, worthy of the service of a man of Banzan's caliber. The interaction of the two upon one another was so deep that we may well dwell upon Mitsumasa's character. When as a boy of five he was first presented to Iyeyasu, the First Shōgun remarked: "See how keen his eye is. He is no common lad." When he was about fifteen, one day he asked the old statesman Itakura Katsushige how to rule over the people. The latter pretended to be ignorant of such secrets, but under the pressure of Mitsumasa's earnestness he said: "I will tell you then. You should treat men as if you were scooping miso (broth) with a round ladle out of a square container." Then he added, to explain the riddle to the mystified prince: "During my service to the great Shōgun, I met many men renowned for valor and wisdom. But I never saw such a young prince as yourself so devoted to the public weal. You compel my admiration. But you need counsel. Doubtless you intend to make every foot in your dominions toe the mark. You will try to lay out the whole government as straight as a piece of ruled paper. But a vast realm can not be managed in that way. You wonder at my words, just as I expected. But remember that without lenience no ruler can win the people's heart."

After Mitsumasa had become Lord of Okayama he was one day impressed by a treatise on the attitude to be taken by the ruler toward the admonitions of his subjects, and he

remarked to his old minister: "You must all tell me of anything wrong in myself and in like manner you must all listen willingly to the advice of others." Then Kenshaku Nakagawa plucked up courage and said: "Your words are the best surety for the prosperity of your rule. Yet it is very hard to admonish you, Sire, for you are so intelligent and look so grave. Your pock-marked face is not agreeable and your flashing eye overawes us. They say that when you get excited no one can stand before you. How can you expect to get admonitions from others? If you would make yourself meek and gentle and encourage men to admonish you, you would find them eager to speak and would be benefited thereby." Mitsumasa not only received these daring words graciously, but laid them to heart and made steady progress in self-mastery. Once when on a winter evening he started to eat oranges, his physician remarked that it might not be good for his health. He at once put them aside and the next day muttered repeatedly to himself: "It was a narrow escape." His handmaid asked him what he meant. He told her of the incident and said: "I knew well enough that taking cold fruit on a cold evening was not good, and was about to tell the doctor he could keep his wisdom for ignoramuses, but I checked myself just in time. If I had not held my tongue, no one would have given me admonitions any more. It was a close call."

Yokoi Shōnan on visiting Okayama a century and a half later and observing what Mitsumasa had accomplished, said: "He was so energetic as to savor of harshness. He would not readily follow the advice of others, but when he found it better than his own way he would follow it at once. He treated his officers strictly, even to the point of capital punishment. If he believed himself in the path of duty, he was heedless of danger and opposition. He stood like a rock against raging waves."

Mitsumasa's greatness is well illustrated in his ability to command the loyalty as well as to utilize the talents of two such contrasted ministers as Banzan and his successor, Tsuda.

Eichu. Eichu was said to have been really a son of Mitsumasa. He was specially distinguished in finance and engineering. Although deeply influenced by the principles of Banzan he differed sharply on some matters. For example, in educational policy and forestry Eichu adopted most of Banzan's views. But in the problem of river regulation Eichu wanted to do the work at the smallest possible expense in the shortest time, while Banzan always advocated engineering on a permanent plan. Both agreed as to the necessity of relieving the samurai from debt: but Banzan wanted to get the required funds by administrative economies, whereas Eichu loaned a large sum to merchants, the interest on which was used as a relief fund. Banzan always aimed at reducing the expenses of the government, while Eichu applied himself to increasing its income. Thus in some ways Eichu was more positive, but he was inclined toward temporary measures, while Banzan was inclined to be conservative and to build for eternity. Eichu was utilitarian and did not hesitate to sacrifice social welfare when he could thereby reap greater financial profits. Banzan's strong moral sense made him scorn to do an injustice, however small, for the sake of economic advantage.

These two ministers did not get along smoothly together, and Banzan is said to have found Okayama quite distasteful at the last because of Eichu's opposition. Years afterward, Banzan denounced Eichu as a cunning hypocrite and openly advised Lord Tsunamasa, successor to Mitsumasa, to dismiss him. The heavy taxes Eichu wrung from the people especially kindled Banzan's indignation against him.

The Kairakuen Park, still famous at Okayama, was first opened by Tsunamasa. Mitsumasa preferred the simple life and built no park. He used often to go to open fields at Nakahara for a day's recreation, his only fittings a tent with a carpet spread under it, where he could enjoy the scenery while taking luncheon with his ministers. The contrast between the rustic Nakahara and the artificial Kairakuen corresponds to the contrast between Mitsumasa and Tsunamasa, and also between

Banzan and Eichu. Banzan wanted to enrich the people so that they might enjoy the rule of a wise master. But Eichu tried to enrich his master so that Okayama might shine brightest among all the principalities of the splendor loving Genroku era.

V BANZAN AS A THINKER

REVIVAL OF LEARNING

The restoration of peace by Iyeyasu ushered in the revival of Chinese philosophy and civics. Under the encouragement of the Shogunate, youths turned their attention away from military exploits to literary accomplishments. Confucius' own writings had been brought over 1,100 years before, but the school introduced at this time was that of Teishi and Shushi, philosophers of the Sō dynasty. Soon after, the philosophy of the Ming dynasty, represented by Yōmei, was introduced by Nakae Tōju and supported, though with reservations, by Banzan. For while Banzan was a pupil of Tōju, his highly practical bent made him an eclectic man of action rather than a philosophic partisan.

MASTER AND PUPIL

Banzan was indebted to Nakae Tōju more directly and deeply than to any other man. For while he attended the lectures of Tōju only for a few months, yet his whole personality was thereby given a new bent. Tōju's conception of learning as the means primarily of cultivating one's own personality, and of time, place and rank, became Banzan's guiding principles. Tōju's earnest search for truth, his rejection of the formalism of Shushi for the realism of Yōmei, and his religious reverence and mysticism all affected Banzan to some degree. But while the pupil owed so much to the master, their temperaments were sharply contrasted. Banzan was a statesman and a social

reformer, while Tōju was rather a man of cloistered virtue, a scholar and teacher. Banzan excelled in force of intellect, in application and in government, while Tōju surpassed in sympathy, in speculation and in moral influence. Banzan was treated as the step-child of society, while Tōju was revered by all who knew him.

VIEWS ON RELIGION

Like all Confucian scholars, he considered religious questions to be of subordinate importance. His remarks on religion are for the most part vague. Like Confucius himself, Banzan's interest was centered in the present world. When he does treat of religion, as in Chapters 15; 16 and 17 of his *Daigaku Wakumon*, it is solely in its social bearings. He seems to have believed in Heaven as the absolute ruler of the universe, but at the same time to have had pantheistic leanings and vestiges of superstition. He disbelieved the future life and the transmigration of the soul, but was tolerant toward the faiths cherished by other men, except in the case of Christianity, which he considered a divisive and alien influence.

SCOPE OF HIS LEARNING

Banzan was not a very learned man. Of the ancient Chinese classics he confined himself to *Great Learning*; *Doctrine of the Mean*; *The Book of History*; *The Book of Changes*; *The Book of Ceremonies*; *The Odes*; *The Analects*; and Mencius. His knowledge of history was quite imperfect, but his references to historical events to illustrate his argument were original and apt. On music also, his ideas were quite advanced. His notions about astronomy and natural history, however, were just as ridiculous as those of his contemporaries.

WRITINGS

During Banzan's life-time many apocryphal books were popularly ascribed to him, and it is hard even yet to tell the genuine from the false. The dates of many of his works are not exactly known, as they were long concealed to avoid the suspicious eyes of the authorities.

Banzan's works fall under three heads:— expositions of the classics; politics and economics; morals. His works of the first head were mostly composed while he was at Akashi, Kōriyama and Koga. Those of the second head included his principal works: *Shugi Gwaisho*, first published in 1705, fourteen years after his death, the manuscript having been kept hidden by his disciples; and his most famous work, *Daigaku Wakunon*, which is supposed to have been substantially the same as the memorandum which was presented to the Shōgun and which resulted in his confinement at Koga. The chapter headings show its scope, but give no idea of how radical its proposals seemed to his contemporaries:

1. The mission of rulers.
2. The duties of subjects.
3. The need of public enterprises being on an extensive scale.
4. The ruler's attitude toward admonitions presented by subjects.
5. Preventive measures against inundations.
6. Provisions against scarcity of food, emergencies and invasions.
7. Ample resources in the central government as well as in the provincial governments.
8. The wiping out of private debts.
9. Relief of the unemployed and the vagrant.
10. Improvement of forests and water courses.
11. The prosperity of the rulers.
12. Abolition of the separate class of soldiers.
13. The allotment of the provincial dominions.

14. Cotton and silk manufacture.
15. The expulsion of Christians.
16. The restoration of Buddhism.
17. The restoration of Shintoism.
18. Reviving the golden age.
19. The management of schools.
20. The selection of teachers.
21. Various profitable enterprises.
22. The waste of rice and cereals.

The leading work of the third class was his critical *Notes on Genji Monogatari*, a novel commonly held to be an obscene description of the court life of the Genji family, but which in his hands became full of moral lessons and wise counsel to rulers.

Banzan's style was not elegant. His contemporaries sneeringly called it vulgar, yet it has outlived their more pedantic effusions. He was one of the first scholars to write in the spoken language and thus bring his teachings within reach of the common people. For the stilted style and impractical ideas of the ordinary word-monger he expressed the utmost contempt.

PRACTICALITY AND ORIGINALITY

Banzan had depth and vigor of thought, but he was too practical to attempt dialectic fencing. He was a man of individuality and of acute intuitions, but he lacked the power of conciliating opponents and of synthesizing different views. These were some of the reasons why he never became the leader of a new school of thought, but stood apart with only a few disciples. He was too self-contained to make a great educator. But it should be noted that all his defects and limitations were really the consequence of his attitude toward learning in general. His ambition was not to become a professional philosopher but to use learning for his own develop-

ment and for the public good. The perfect samurai was the standard he set out to attain and to propagate. He was more anxious to act than to know. In our day he would have been a pragmatist. He often recalled himself from empty speculations by testing his ideas by the three standards of time, place and rank. They always furnished him a connecting link between his theories and his practice, between his position as a scholar and as a statesman. The result was what he called the doctrine of water and land (*suido*) that is, the physical environment. Practicality was his touchstone. His impatience with traditional views and abstract conceptions can be seen from the following illustrations.

Banzan boldly advocated second marriage, in defiance of nearly all his peers. He says: "There are some women who object to marrying a second time, after the death of husbands with whom they have lived happily. Some of them go to the homes of brothers to be cared for, and in return they help look after the family. Some serve the mothers or wives of nobles. Some devote themselves to rearing their own sons and gladly depend upon them. I know a certain lady whose husband died while she was yet young. She was exhorted to marry again. But she declined, "Because," said she, "if I happen to recollect my first husband and shed tears over the clothes of my new master, I shall be guilty of unfaithfulness. I can't be wedded again because of this haunting fear." She thought that she could never find another husband so agreeable as the first. But as a rule couples are not satisfied with their wedded life, but manage to get on tolerably well by mutual forbearance. If a widow has no son to bring up and to depend upon I believe she might well marry again. Men can guard their honor against violence, even killing the assailant if there is no other way. But women, weak by nature, are apt to suffer violence. It is better for them to remarry to protect themselves from the possibility of dishonor. Especially is it blameworthy for friends or relatives to force a disgrace on the

average woman by preventing remarriage. Marrying a second time was opposed by the ancients because of their idealistic conceptions. But there are not a few exceptions called for in real life. Some husbands do not like to take a second wife, when they recall the virtues of the first. Also, when they have children already, the new wife is apt, they say, to treat the children cruelly, and so they decline to marry again."

Again, three years of mourning was looked upon as obligatory for children who had lost their parents. But Banzan opposed it as a mere form. "Three years was the period," he said, "settled by the ancient sages at a time when the people were accustomed to observe much longer mourning. It was a restrictive measure. The principle of mourning has nothing to do with the length of the period. To force so long a mourning on the people of today as the ancients observed would merely encourage hypocrisy. We must act according to the best wisdom of each age."

Cremation was generally disapproved by the scholars of the age on account of its Buddhistic origin, but Banzan advocated it heartily.

BANZAN'S ABIDING INFLUENCE

Banzan had few disciples in his life-time. He was a moral heretic and a political suspect, and it took courage for young men to espouse his principles or even to attend his lectures and read his writings. But his influence nevertheless was widespread even during his life. His plans were adopted by such a powerful statesman as Hotta Masatoshi and he was consulted by Tokugawa Yorinobu and Matsudaira Nobutsuné. The ideas which were too radical to be adopted by the authorities then, were revived and popularized after his death by such scholars as Sorai and Shuntai. Moreover, many prominent scholars in modern Japan were influenced by his character and writings. Oshiwo Chusai, Fujita Tōko, Yokoi Shōnan and Hashimoto-

Sanai all referred to him in terms of the highest admiration. As a statesman he was steadfast and unmoveable in the midst of adverse currents. As a thinker his daring defiance of tradition and his constant effort to adjust his words and actions to the three-fold test of time, place and rank are worthy of admiration. As a man he left to his country a rare example of simplicity, integrity, self-mastery and devotion to truth.

—(END)—



PERCIVAL LOWELL: A MEMORIAL

BY CLAY MACCAULEY, A.M., D.D.

The following memorial of Dr. Percival Lowell was read before the Asiatic Society of Japan by Dr. Clay MacCauley at the annual meeting 24 January, 1917.

The Asiatic Society of Japan has received, under date, November 19, 1916, this communication: "The Lowell Observatory announces with profound sorrow the death of the Founder and Director, Dr. Percival Lowell at his residence, Mars Hill, on the evening of November twelfth."

By the passing of Percival Lowell, astronomical science has lost one of its most interesting, capable, adventurous, and, in some directions, one of its most useful and productive workers. Moreover, by his death, the particular realm of ethnic study and interpretation with which this Society is concerned has been deprived of one of its memorable students: one who has contributed to general literature and to our Society's Transactions some of the most notable and entertaining material of which we are possessors.

As a Society, devoted to a specialized learning, naturally we make but little public note of the personalities of those with whom we are associated; but in Percival Lowell there was a distinction and even uniqueness of mental character which noticeably informed his work. Any memorial of him would be unjust and inadequate were this fact forgotten. Lowell had an aspiring, far-reaching mentality. Delicately acute, keenly perceptive of the many relations of things and words, he was instinctively aristocratic in speculation, and fastidious in expression. The unknown and the extraordinary were fascinating to him. And in his mental operations he was

essentially self-reliant. Inevitably, he found luxury in the apt use of words, enjoying especially the quaintness and pleasantries of which they could be made the bearers and servants. All this should be remembered for any adequate consideration of his great work as a promoter of science and as a student within this Society's fellowship.

I have not seen much of the widespread tribute to Percival Lowell which I know has been published since his death, but I am able to quote from an editorial in the Boston Herald, the judgment,—“He would have made his mark as a thinker had he been content to move in the much beaten path of the author, the lecturer and the publicist. But the bent of his mind, his imaginative power, his love of knowledge, all turned him in another direction. Astronomy became his master passion; and the man who could write illuminatingly on many earthly themes found himself tracing out the evolution of the world and watching the planets for their secrets. He was a conspicuous example of the devotion of great gifts to lofty ends.” Then, a writer in the New York Outlook observes that Lowell was “one of the most distinctive and picturesque figures in American astronomy. Man of letters as well as man of science his writings, even on technical themes, possessed a piquant style of their own, which, in addition to the intrinsic interest of their subject, makes his more popular works eminently readable.” A New York Times memorialist remarks that “Personally, Percival Lowell was singularly attractive, a perfect type of the scholar and man of the world combined. He was not a poser; he did nothing for notoriety's sake. He was firm in his convictions and was entirely justified in his reliance upon his own learning and his powers of vision.” Also I have seen that the distinguished astronomer, Camille Flammarion wrote, the day after Lowell's death,—so I translate,—“This death of Mr. Lowell is a great loss to science. Among astronomers he was one of the most active and independent; and, by his universal knowledge, he was one of the most eminent.” And further, I read in that most exacting of

American literary periodicals, *The Nation*, of New York, the judgment that "the death of Percival Lowell recalls the creditable part that America has played in astronomical science. He will not be held much the more lightly because he rode one doubtful theory to the point of making it a hobby. It is one tribute to the underlying scientific ability of the man that his apparent extravagances of theories did not lessen the real respect paid him."

Evidently, then, with the death of this devotee of science and once fellow-worker and comrade with the members of this Society, one of the highly gifted among men, and one of the most productive and eminent scholars of our time, has closed his earthly career.

Percival Lowell was born in Boston, Massachusetts, March 13, 1855. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1876. Then, for some years, in a measure preparatory for an intended business career, he gave his time to travel in foreign lands, arriving in Japan in the summer of 1883. For the next ten years, so it happened, he found in this part of the world the main area for his interest and work.

Very soon after his coming to Japan, circumstances associated him intimately with Far Eastern affairs. He was appointed Counsellor and Foreign Secretary to a Special Commission from Korea on its way through Japan to Washington, to exchange ratifications of the first treaty concluded between Korea and the United States. Returning from America in the autumn of the same year, Lowell was invited by the King of Korea to visit the Korean capital. Accompanied by Hon. T. Miyaoka of this city, as interpreter, he went to Seoul where, Mr. Miyaoka tells me, "we were royally treated as the guests of the King." That winter in Korea was the source of a rich recompense to Lowell's eager and inquisitive mind, in return for the physical discomforts he bore, despite the good will of Korean hospitality.

Two years later in 1885, came from Lowell's pen a large book entitled "*Cho-son; The Land of the Morning Calm.*"

This work has a peculiar interest, aside from its masterly literary form and novel, social and geographical information, in the fact that in it, in embryo, is the special theory, which, in after years, was the guiding genius of Lowell's various and much elaborated writings concerning Japan and the whole Far East. I will not characterize this book further than by repeating the words of Lafcadio Hearn, written in 1889: "How luminous and psychically electric is Lowell's book" and "how noble a soul must be the dreamer of Cho-son." Also, by Hearn's tribute in 1891, after his own arrival in Japan: "I am not vain enough to think that I can ever write anything so beautiful as his Cho-son"; "I will certainly make a poor showing beside his precise, fine, perfectly worded work."

The year after the publication of "Cho-son," the book which has associated Lowell most closely with a critical and interpretative study of the peoples and institutions of this part of the world, appeared his much famed "Soul of the Far East." I have no time for an extended critique of this marvellous ethnic essay. "Marvellous" I name it, not only because of the startling message it bears and the exquisitely fascinating speech by which the message is borne, but also because of the revelation it gives of the distinctive mental measure and the characteristic personality of the author himself. But I will pass by the forceful impulse to adventure and the self-reliant originality dominant in the book's pages, merely calling to memory, in passing, the powerful impression the essay made upon Lafcadio Hearn. Before Hearn came to Japan he had read "The Soul of the Far East" with the exclamation,—"An astounding book; a godlike book. I want you to promise to read every single word of it. It is the finest book on the East ever written, and, though small, contains more than all my library of Oriental books."

This panegyric probably goes beyond the bounds of a justifiable estimate; yet, the book is really a marvellous psychical study. However, in reading it today, the critical reader should, all along, keep in mind the time and conditions under

which Lowell wrote. His judgment of "The Soul of the Far East" was made fully a generation ago. Time has brought much change to all Oriental countries since then, especially to this "Land of the Rising Sun." Consequently, at the present time, we would do well to associate with the author's bold judgment and to keep already in mind, as we read, the words with which he closed his essay. He seemed by them to designate his judgment as that which might soon refer to something of the past. As the result of his studies, he believed that he had discovered in the thinking, mood, conduct and habits of the Far Eastern peoples a comparative absence of a sense of individuality, or conscious personality. The main clue to an adequate interpretation of Oriental life he found therefore, in what he named "Impersonality." Yet, after a manifold illustration of his claim he added, "the soul in its progress through the world tends inevitably to individualization." Then, noting the fact that the individualism of Western civilization had already entered the Far East and was, even then, in conflicting interaction with the ages dominant individual, social, civil and religious motives and institutions of Oriental peoples, he saw thereby a possible change in their development. His conclusion was, "As for Far Orientals, they themselves furnish proof against themselves. That impersonality is not man's earthly goal they unwittingly bear witness." The analyst's final judgment, therefore, was one of conditions: "If these peoples continue in their old course, their earthly career is closed. Just as surely as morning passes into afternoon, so surely are these races of the Far East, *if* unchanged, destined to disappear before the advancing nations of the West. *Unless* their newly imported ideas really take root, it is from this whole world that Japanese and Koreans, as well as Chinese will inevitably be excluded." Now, notice Lowell's "ifs" and "unless." He had passed his judgment; but he saw a possible transformation. And I know that he hailed the incoming into the East of the motive forces of the West as forerunner of a possible ascendancy here of the genius of the world's advancing civiliza-

tion, prophetic of that New East into which, now, the Far East is becoming wondrously changed.

The next book that came from Lowell's pen was his charming itinerary of a journey, made into the almost untravelled interior, and to the unknown West Coast, of Japan, in the latter years of the "Eighties." It bore the title "Noto, an Unexplored Corner of Japan." A sense of mental luxury accompanies the reading of this record of journeyings through novel natural scenery, and of contact with the strange ways of human life disclosed to the writer in the weeks of his far-away wanderings. And today, in speeding by steam train or motor car over large reaches of this same journeying, one would do well to have as a *vade mecum* this masterly bit of descriptive and interpretative writing. Merely as literary treasure it is worth enjoyment.

In 1891, Lowell's studies of the Far East first brought him into clear relationship with our Asiatic Society. This came about by his making, at one of our meetings, a characteristic literary venture to which he gave the title,—“A Comparison of the Japanese and Burmese Languages.” This essay was much enjoyed as we heard it, and it was described, in the discussion following its reading, as being “full of electricity,” and giving “great delight.” A highly interesting play of differing opinions was aroused by that first contribution Lowell made to our transactions. The next year, one of our members gravely passed exacting critical judgment upon the “Comparison.” He styled Lowell's contribution “a very readable article,” but that the essayist was “merely a pleasant, thoughtful writer with no profound knowledge of either Burmese or Japanese,” proceeding then to a hypercritical linguistic disquisition upon the theme.

Now, I have good reason to believe that Lowell never intended to pose as a competent expositor of either of the languages he compared. He was holding at the time, as a regulative factor for his speculations on the Far East, his theory of “Impersonality”; and he was continually seeking

illustrations for it. He had happened, just then, upon Chase's "Handbook of the Burmese Language." It interested and amused him; and he saw in it a support for his pet ethnic generalization. With that manual as his Burmese linguistic authority, combined with some important facts of Japanese speech with which he was familiar, he prepared his entertaining essay. In the essay he frankly told us that to Chase's Handbook he was "indebted for the brute facts used." I have therefore remembered the essay as, in the main, a Lowell *jav d'esprit*, but that it had, back of it, sufficient fact to make it valuable in serving his specific purpose, and so, giving it right to a hearing in our fellowship. Indeed, this paper should not be regarded over seriously. It should be received, I think; much in the mood well shown by its writer in his first sentence: "The gentleman who derived Middletown from Moses by dropping 'oses' and adding 'iddletown' would have found his caricature sadly out-faced by fact had he tried it on an Altaic tongue." Also, this paper should be measured by such mental tone as that with which it closes,— "These so-called tongues may turn out to be sisters, like those Ovid so prettily describes whose faces were not alike nor yet unlike, but such as those of sisters ought to be. And Chinese would be their staid, conservative aunt"

Lowell's contribution, of most important value to our Society transactions, was made at several of our sessions in 1893, under the title, "Esoteric Shinto." This elaborate treatise was published in book-form in 1894, under the title "Occult Japan, or The Way of the Gods." The author describes it as "An Esoteric Study of Japanese Personality and Possession." This work is the product of a really studious long continued investigation. It deserves, equally with "The Soul of the Far East," patient, and considerate reading. In literary quality the book well sustains Lowell's masterly excellence; and, inevitably, it abounds with the writer's habitual verbal and phrase surprises. Historically, the work is of much value as a further interpretation and

illustration of Lowell's judgment upon Far Eastern "Impersonality." The judgment may be open to fair debate and questioning, but Lowell's discussion of it is needed by any who would gain a clear historic understanding of the peoples and institutions of this region of the world.

In 1893, Lowell left Japan, closing, then, his studies of the Far East as a leading interest. He had decided to give himself to the scientific research which soon became the motive force of his intellectual life. Already he had attempted to make Japan a place for astronomical work, having at his residence of Tokyo a six inch telescope of exceptional excellence. But the atmospheric conditions here—so he told me—were a serious hindrance to the minutely defined observation he required, and he had resolved to seek the world over for the best site possible for star-seeing. There he would aim to build the best equipped observatory that human skill could construct.

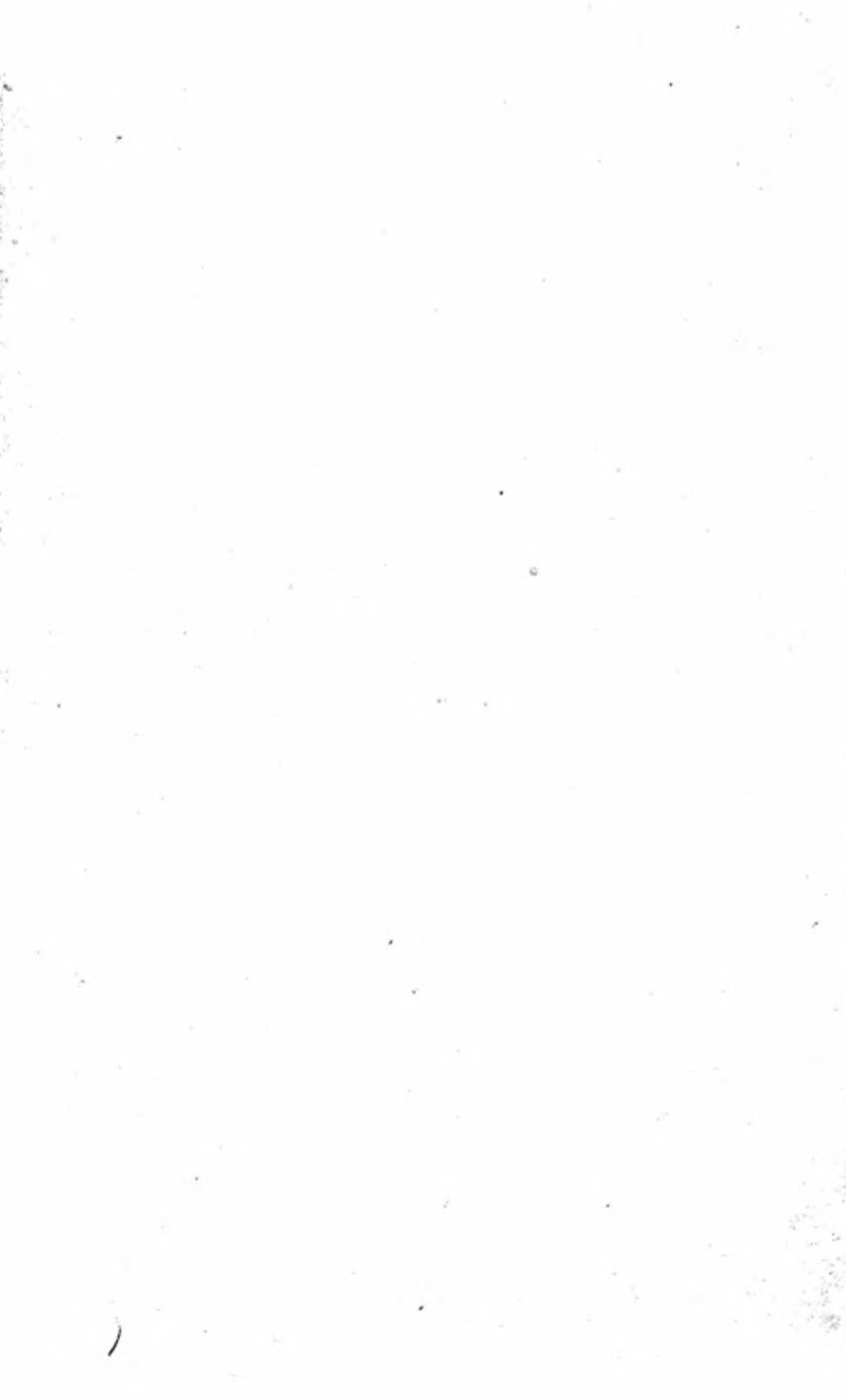
It does not come within the scope of this memorial to say much of the later labors to which Lowell gave his energies; but so distinguished and valuable were his achievements that I may not altogether pass them by.

The search for the best conditioned atmosphere ended in Arizona, in America; and there, at Flagstaff, in 1894, he erected the now world famed "Lowell Observatory." The finest telescopes, with the most complete auxiliary apparatus obtainable, were there put into position. And on that favored height, with a staff of carefully chosen assistants, for the past thirteen years, Dr. Percival Lowell has labored, with persistent enthusiasm, to advance man's science of the stars. From that observatory, throughout these years, scholars and institutions of learning have been munificently supplied with the results of skilled astronomical research of a very high value;—of unquestioned value concerning the planets Mercury, Venus and Saturn. Of chief interest, however, and of wide-spread discussion, have been elaborate reports drawn from Lowell's main study, his observation of our nearest celestial neighbor, the planet Mars.

During these years Lowell has enriched the world's libraries with luxuriantly wrought volumes, under the titles, "Annals of the Lowell Observatory"; "Mars and Its Canals"; "Mars as the Abode of Life," and "The Evolution of Worlds." Moreover, he has served his favorite science through many popular lectures and papers given to various learned societies. Also, his wealth enabled him to support several expeditions to distant parts of the world for such special purposes as the observation of eclipses and for stellar photography.

Astronomy has, probably, never had a more devoted or a more enthusiastic servitor than Dr. Percival Lowell. And it is pleasant now to remember that many men and institutions of science have highly honored his devotion. Lowell bore two gold medals as testimonials from two national societies;—the Jassen medal of the French Astronomical Society, and the medal of the Sociedad Astronomical of Mexico. He was a member of the British Royal Asiatic Society: of the Societe Astronomique de France; of the German Astronomische Gesellschaft, and he was an honorary member of the Astronomical Society of Mexico, as well as a member of the American Philosophical, and a fellow of the National Geographical Societies. Further, Lowell was non-resident professor of astronomy in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

But time, now, forbids more than this glimpse of Dr. Lowell's later years. What we have seen, however, justifies fully, I think, the reflection, with which I began this memorial, that, in the passing of Percival Lowell, we part with one of our most memorable co-workers. We only do well to honor him as one of the distinguished men of modern science who, in his ardent youth, entertained and enriched our Society's sessions by his fine insight and the gains made by his cultured genius.



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